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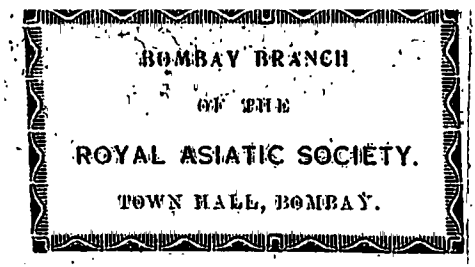

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The Lady Margaret Douglas.
Countess of Lennox.

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LIVES

OF THE

QUEENS OF SCOTLAND,

&c.

BY

AGNES STRICKLAND.

140942

Mary of Lorraine shews the infant Queen her Daughter, in the Royal Nursery to Sir Ralph Sadler.

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TO

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THE

QUEENS OF SCOTLAND

MARY OF LORRAINE

CHAPTER III.

SUMMARY

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THE pause of national gloom in which Scotland had been plunged by the disaster at Solway Moss, and the morbid melancholy of the King, was at length broken by the

accouchement of the desolate Queen in her wintry bower at Linlithgow Palace. The people had confidently anticipated a prince—for hitherto Mary of Lorraine had brought forth men children only; but now, at this distressing crisis, when a male heir to the throne of Scotland appeared more requisite than at any other period, she for the first time gave birth to a daughter. The unwelcome "maiden bairn," who thus entered an inimical world in evil hour, bringing disappointment with her as her ominous heritage, was that beautiful and ill-fated princess, Mary Stuart, literally the child of sorrow. But, whether welcome or unwelcome, she was the heiress of the realm, and immediately recognised as such, though not after the manner prescribed by ancient custom; for the royal sire, whose duty it was to have been at his consort's side on that occasion, to greet the new-born infant with his blessing, and present her to his assembled peers and prelates as his undoubted offspring and lawful successor, (in failure of male issue,) was far away, reckless of every consideration on earth but that morbid sense of dishonour which was wearing away his life. How bitter to the poor Queen must have been the sudden change which, after five years of affectionate union, had come over the darkened spirit of her royal husband, and, without any apparent fault of hers, produced an estrangement as unaccountable as it was cruel. Cases of monomania were not understood in the sixteenth century; and those inscrutable impulses originating in heart-disease, or inflammatory action of the brain, were attributed to wilful perversity in the sufferers, and too often treated by their nearest and dearest ties of kindred as crimes. But whatever were the pangs that oppressed the heart of the anxious consort of James V. on this trying occasion, she endured them silently we may rest assured; for if a single word of a querulous or impatient nature had escaped her in her distress, it would have been chronicled to her reproach, with exaggerations, by her enemies. Mary of Lorraine had completed her seven-and-twentieth year a few days previously to the occurrence which was destined to give a fatal importance to the residue of her life—the birth of the infant heiress of the crown. The most

credible as well as the most numerous authorities, on that somewhat disputed point, affirm that this event took place on the 8th of December, 1551.[1]

A contemporary document, recently discovered,[2] goes far to prove that a later date ought to be assigned; for on the 9th of December, Andrew, Bishop of Galloway, the *ex-officio* Dean of the Chapel-royal at Stirling, addresses a supplication to the Lords of the Council, complaining of Maister Patrick Hume detaining from him his mitre, staff, and the rest of his episcopal paraphernalia, in which it was requisite for him to make his appearance at all high festival times in the said chapel-royal among the canons and prebends. "And now," proceeds the supplication, "the Quenis Grace is *approaching to lie in, and sickly;* and the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord is coming upon hand, and the said reverend fader *maun* do the said service in the chapel, therefore he entreats the Lords to compel Mr Patrick to deliver to him, for this purpose, the staff, mitre, and other necessairs which he unduly retains," &c. The order to this effect is granted by the Lords, not one of whom could have been in ignorance of so important a fact as the delivery of the Queen, if it had taken place, as generally asserted, on the 8th. The Dean of the Chapel-royal at Stirling, only three hours' distance from Linlithgow, we see, speaks of that event as still in expectation on the 9th of December; while all contemporary historians agree that James V. did not survive the announcement of his daughter's birth many hours. Of course he was not kept five days in ignorance of matters of such importance as the safety of his consort and the birth of their royal infant; for the palaces of Falkland and Linlithgow, though on opposite sides of the Forth, are at no great distance, and we find, from the testimony of Lindsay of Pitscottie, that the news was sent by an express. Not only was it hoped that the happy tidings might have a cordial effect on the

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents: Robertson. Mary Queen of Scots' Letters. Bishop Lesley says the 7th; Tytler has followed his authority.

[2] By that distinguished antiquary, John Riddell, Esq., of the Faculty of Advocates, to whom I am indebted for the communication of this curious fact.

depressed spirits of the King, but every one about the Queen was aware of the expediency of obtaining from the royal father a formal recognition of the infant Princess as his successor to the throne of Scotland.

James, who had always testified an impatience of the ceremonial observances which then surrounded kings, from the first moment of life till consigned to the silent sanctuary of the tomb, had retired to his sylvan palace at Falkland, apparently for the purpose of escaping from the excitement and fatigue attendant on the duties of his high vocation, of which he had become alike incapable and reckless. Breaking through the restraints of all regal etiquette, he suffered no one to enter his chamber save two or three of his most confidential attendants. Among these was the venerable Lion-King, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who had performed the duties of nurse and preceptor to him in his infant days, and first awakened with poetry and music the expanding germs of his graceful genius. It must have been with no common grief that this oldest and most attentive of his early friends watched the premature wreck of all those brilliant endowments which heaven had lavished on the unfortunate Prince. James was dying in his thirty-first year, of the sorrow of this world, for which human physicians could of course devise no remedy. Disease of the mind, in temperaments ardent and excitable as that of James V., quickly generates bodily malady, and "he became," we are told, "so heavy and dolorous that he neither eat nor drank anything that had good digestion, and became so vehement sick that no man had hope of his life."[1] But still the one painful remembrance which had swallowed up all others was present with him; for ever he harped on his old strain,—"Oh, fled is Oliver! Is Oliver ta'en?" and these words he was heard to murmur to himself at intervals as long as he retained the power of articulation.[2] In one of his moments of self-recollection, however, "he sent for certain of his lords, both spiritual and temporal, to give him counsel; but ere they came he was

[1] Lindsay of Pitscottie.
[2] Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 91.

wellnigh strangled with extreme melancholy. By this time the post came out of Linlithgow, showing the King good tidings that the Queen was delivered." The King briefly inquired "whether it were man or woman that had been born to him." The messenger replied that it was "ane fair daughter." "Farewell," exclaimed the King, with prophetic reference, "to the crown of Scotland: it came with a lass, and it will pass with a lass." A melancholy equivoque lurks in this speech, the royal poet having chosen that noun feminine, (still familiarly used in Scotland for a girl,) in pronouncing which he twice repeats the sorrowful ejaculation alas! to express the disappointment of his last earthly hope. "And so," continues the chronicler, "he commended himself to Almighty God, and turned his back to his lords and his face to the wall."[1] How closely are we here reminded of the simple pathos of ballad lore:—

> "He turned his face unto the wall,
> As death came o'er him stealing."

The holy calm of that solemn moment was interrupted by the importunity of Cardinal Beton, who rudely called the departing spirit of his royal master back to earthly cares by vociferating in his deafening ear—"Take order for your realm, sir! Who shall rule during the minority of your daughter? Ye have known my services—shall there not be four regents, and I the principal one?"[2] Then, holding forth a paper purporting to be the King's will, he succeeded in obtaining the royal signature to what has generally been described as a blank sheet, in which he afterwards wrote anything he chose.[3]

Whether King James were acquainted with the contents of the paper he signed or not, he probably felt relieved from an intolerable burden of mental care, by the persuasion that he had performed a necessary duty for the settlement of the

[1] Lindsay of Pitscottie, Chronicles of Scotland, p. 406.
[2] Knox's Hist. Reformation. Lindsay of Pitscottie.
[3] The Earl of Arran, the next heir to the crown after the infant daughter of James V. by Mary of Lorraine, declared that Beton took the cold passive hand of the dying Sovereign in his own, and guided the unconscious fingers to form the signature.—Sadler's State Papers.

succession and the peace of the realm. Speech was gone, but his demeanour indicated that sense and consciousness returned in the last moments of his existence. He appears, indeed, to have experienced one of those happy changes not unfrequent in cases of nervous fever, expressively called "a lightening before death," when the mercy of God allows to the departing spirit a last opportunity of pleading for pardon and reconciliation, ere passing the awful gulf that divides Time from Eternity. King James turned him about once more, looked upon his lords that were round his bed and smiled—or, as the chronicler expresses it, "gave ane little laughter"—kissed his hand to them in mute farewell, then presented it to those who came to perform their last act of homage by pressing it to their lips; and, this done, he "held up his hands to God and yielded the spirit."[1] Thus died, December 13, 1542, in his thirty-first year, the victim of his own wounded and wayward spirit, that graceful and accomplished Prince, James V. of Scotland, the second consort of Mary of Lorraine. Whatever were the failings of James V., the people loved him dearly. He had won the most honourable of earthly titles, that of the poor man's King, and "great was the moan and dule" that was made for him throughout the realm.[2]

As soon as Cardinal Beton had completed his arrangements relative to the will of his late master, he hastened to Linlithgow, to inform the Queen of her irreparable loss. Mary of Lorraine, in her lying-in chamber, was awaiting, meantime, how anxiously may be supposed, intelligence of her royal husband's reception of the announcement of his daughter's birth—fondly expecting, perhaps, some loving message of congratulation to herself, expressive of thankfulness for her safety, together with his directions for the christening of the infant Princess. When the reverend premier entered her presence, she greeted him with the joyful exclamation of "Welcome, my lord!"[3]

[1] Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 407. This, the most touching and circumstantial account of the death of James V. of Scotland, is undoubtedly recorded from the narration of a faithful eyewitness, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount.

[2] Lesley's Hist. of James V.

[3] Knox's Hist. of the Reformation.

Then, perceiving that he was the bearer of evil tidings, she, with the sudden alternation from hope to despair natural to an excitable female at so agitating a time, inquired "if the King were not dead." "What moved her so to conjecture, divers men are of divers judgments," is the invidious comment of Knox[1] on his own peculiar manner of relating that which every one acquainted with the constitution of woman's heart may easily comprehend—the agonising apprehension of a fond wife, under the peculiar circumstances of Mary of Lorraine, who had been for many days a prey to all the protracted tortures of suspense as to the state of her husband, and unable to endure the vain circumlocution called breaking the sad news of calamity, demanding, with tragic brevity of expression, the confirmation of her worst fears.

Death had too often stricken her fairest and most fondly cherished hopes not to have impressed this unfortunate Princess with a painful conviction of the uncertain tenure on which all ties of earthly happiness are held. Independently, however, of all considerations of conjugal tenderness, it was impossible for the consort of James V. to contemplate his death, at that juncture, in any other light than that of a most serious misfortune, which was to leave her to struggle for her feeble infant with the storms of civil and religious strife that were beginning to convulse Scotland, in addition to the formidable hostility of England. Knox scruples not to intimate that James's death was caused by poison, administered by his ruling favourite, Cardinal Beton, with the knowledge and connivance of the Queen—the two persons the most interested of all the world in prolonging his existence. But of this absurd calumny, as well as his insinuations of a grosser nature, tending to impugn the virtue of this Princess, he offers no sort of evidence. The testimony of a contemporary so uncandid as to imply that the speedy recovery of the royal widow from childbirth was caused by pleasure for her husband's death, ought surely to be regarded with caution. He says,

[1] Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 92.

"Howsoever the tidings liked her, she mended with as great expedition of that daughter as ever she did before of any son she bare."[1] Mary of Lorraine was in ill health previous to her confinement, and that she had been thus wonderfully supported under all the trials and sufferings of that perilous time ought rather to have been regarded as an instance of the mercy of Him who has the power of bringing strength out of weakness, than turned to her reproach.

"The time of her purification was sooner than the Levitical law appoints,"[2] continues Knox. Then, fortunately recollecting that it might be considered unreasonable to blame the Queen of a Christian land for not having conformed herself to the bondage of the old ceremonial, fifteen hundred years after it had been abolished by the glorious liberty of the gospel dispensation, he naïvely qualifies his censure by adding, "But she was no Jewess, so in that she offended not."[3]

So far from gaining the slightest accession of honour or personal aggrandisement by the death of her royal husband, the widowed Queen found herself in a most distressing predicament, agitated with constant apprehensions that her tender infant would be torn from her maternal care, while she was yet confined to her lying-in chamber. She kept her in the sanctuary of her own apartment in Linlithgow Palace, but with fear and trembling, during the stormy contention for the regency which took place between Cardinal Beton and the Earl of Arran, chief of the house of Hamilton, while the King her husband lay unburied at Falkland. The Earl of Arran, being the next heir to the crown, claimed the custody of the person of the infant Sovereign and the government of the realm, during her minority—a claim authorised by the ancient custom of Scotland. The will of the late Sovereign, which vested these important trusts in Cardinal Beton and three of the great peers of Scotland, was declared invalid, and

[1] History of the Reformation. Edited by D. Laing, Esq., vol. i. p. 92.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

the office of Governor of the realm was conferred on the Earl of Arran.[1] This contest was the first great trial of strength between the Roman Catholic interest, represented by the Cardinal, and the Reformers, whose recognised head as a political leader the Earl of Arran then was. The triumph would have been more important, if Arran had been a man of ability and courage, and, above all, attached from principle to the doctrines he had outwardly espoused from motives of selfish expediency, to win the suffrages of a party rapidly becoming the most numerous and influential in the kingdom.[2]

Every thought and faculty of Mary of Lorraine's soul being engrossed in one dear object—that of keeping possession of the person of her child—she took no part in the struggle for the regency; although, if she had been disposed to claim it for herself, she might have pleaded the recent precedents of two Queen-mothers of the Stuart sovereigns exercising that office—namely, Mary of Gueldres, the widow of James II., and Margaret Tudor, the mother of James V.

While yet in her lying-in chamber, the widowed Queen received a visit of respect and condolence from the new Regent, the Earl of Arran, or, as he is styled in the official documents of the period, the Lord-governor. His object was to propose a marriage between her royal daughter, the infant Queen, and his eldest son, Lord Hamilton—a beautiful boy about seven years old. Whether agreeable to her or otherwise, the Queen-mother received the proposal for her baby with all due courtesy, and, indeed, it should appear from his subsequent complaints of her deceitfulness, in so complimentary a manner as to impress the ambitious sire with the idea that such an alliance would be most agreeable to her, and that she considered it conducive to the interests and welfare of the young Queen.[3]

The Royal Compotus for this year, 1542, contains an entry of "expenses disbursed upon the Queen, the King's

[1] Lindsay of Pitscottie. Tytler. Robertson.
[2] Lesley's History of Scotland.
[3] Sadler's State Papers.

spouse, her ladies, and servants, for *doole*," (mourning habits;) and also that twelve ells of French black cloth, price £23, 3s. 6d., were delivered to her comptroller to line her chariot, "and to cover the chair thereunto."[1] There is no mention of *doole* for her bed, or hangings for her chamber; but as Mary of Lorraine was in childbed at the time of her husband's death, she, probably following the fashion of her own country under such circumstances, was "*la blanche reine*"—wearing white weeds and barbe, with everything white about her. A few items of the expenses connected with the funeral of the deceased Sovereign are curious, and illustrative of the royal costume of the period.

"Delivered to the *tapischer*, [*upholsterer*,] to be ane claith of stait, [a canopy,] xxx elnis of blak velvot, price of the eln £56 Scots.

"Item, delivered to him to be the croce [*cross*] therof, x elnis of quhite sating, [*white satin*,] £35 Scots [*per ell*]—£7, 10s.

"Item, delivered to David Hay, sumptourman, to be ane cover to the bier for saifti of the claith of stait, 6 elnis Frenche blak.

"Item, cloth-of-gold and purple taffety, and crimson satin, delivered to John Young, the embroiderer, to embroider a banner with the royal arms. The price disbursed to him for his work, he furnishing the threads of gold and silk, £21, 10s.—Also to Andrew Watson, painter, for painting the banner with gold and fine colours, £4.—And for colouring and painting effigies of the crown and sceptre, and one targe delivered to the Lion Herald, £4.

"Item, given to Robert Denys, painter, for colouring the *dolourous* chapel with the clubbs, spears, chandalaris, and other work in the kirk, all of black colours, £4."[2]

There are also the disbursements to the carpenters and masons for the work done in making a passage through the church to the vault, and for building the tomb; and to Andres Mansionn, carver, for the figure of a lion set above the crown, and for the graving of the superscription in Roman letters, containing, in length, eight feet. The following entry shows how little regard was paid to ceremonials in sending the summonses for the nobles to

[1] Communicated by the late Alexander Macdonald, Esq., of the Register House, Edinburgh.

[2] Exchequer Records in the Register Office, Edinburgh, communicated by Alexander Macdonald, Esq.

perform their devoir to the remains of their deceased sovereign:—

"Item, the *ferd* [fourth] day of Januar, given to twa boys to warn the gentillemen in Fyffe [*Fifeshire*] for conveying the Kingis Grace body fra Falkland to the Ferry, xvj s." [1]

The assistants for the funeral procession being thus convened, the body of the King was conveyed from Falkland to Edinburgh with the utmost funeral pomp, attended by Cardinal Beton, the Earls of Arran, Argyll, Marischal, and Rothes, and numbers of the nobility and gentry, all clothed in mourning robes, with lighted tapers borne before them. Trumpets and other instruments sounded the most doleful notes of lamentation, mixed with loud bewailments of the common people, who looked on him as their father and protector. He was laid in the tomb at Holyrood, by his beloved Queen Magdalene. The invading army of Henry VIII. destroyed soon after not only the tomb, but most part of the church in which he was buried.[2]

When the news of the untimely death of his royal nephew, James V., was first announced to Henry VIII., he affected a decent appearance of concern, sighed deeply, and said, "Woe is me! for I shall never have any King in Scotland so sib to me again, nor one whom I favoured so well, and desired so greatly to confer with. But, alas! evil and wicked counsel would not let him speak with me, which would have been both to his comfort and mine." [3] Henry then inquired farther tidings of the messenger, who informed him that the Queen of Scotland, Mary of Lorraine, had been delivered of a daughter just before the death of her royal husband, and that no male succession was left of the King his nephew. The idea of annexing Scotland to the English crown, either by marriage or conquest, had always been a favourite project with the Kings of England, originating with, and almost realised by Edward I., in his amicable treaty for the union of his

[1] Compotus of Kirkaldy of Grange.
[2] Mackenzie's Lives, vol. ii. p. 594.
[3] Lindsay of Pitscottie, Chronicles of Scotland.

eldest son, Edward, Prince of Wales, with the infant heiress of the realm, Margaret of Norway — a princess, by the bye, related to Edward, as the grand-daughter of his sister Margaret of England,[1] in precisely the same degree as Mary Stuart was to Henry VIII. After the nullification of that treaty by the premature death of the royal bride, Edward could not resolve to relinquish the hope of consolidating the Britannic empire under his sceptre. He took advantage of the divisions caused by the contest of three rival claimants of the royal succession of Scotland, to pursue his ambitious project of acquiring the sovereignty of that realm—at first, under the plausible character of a mediator and umpire between the contending parties, and finally by a lawless attempt at superseding them all, and appropriating the throne to himself. The manner in which Scotland asserted her national independence through Wallace, and succeeded in establishing it under the patriotic sceptre of Bruce, had proved that, when true to herself, she was unconquerable. Henry VIII., instructed by the failure of his mighty Plantagent predecessors, Edward I. and Edward III., in their successive attempts at conquest, determined to try the power of gold on the aristocracy of Scotland for the accomplishment of his object, instead of assailing her indomitable commons with the sword. He was already sure of *one* of those powerful territorial lords who had so frequently held their liege lord in check — the head of the house of Douglas — Archibald, Earl of Angus, the widower of his sister Margaret, and his more able and artful brother, Sir George Douglas. These men had been refugees in England, and Henry's pensioners, for fifteen years, and were ready to enter into all his schemes for the annexation of Scotland.

Henry had committed a most ungenerous and unprincely act of oppression, by making a public show of the nobles

[1] Daughter of Henry III. and consort of Alexander III. of Scotland. Biographical particulars of this English Princess and Scottish Queen will be given hereafter, in the series of Lives of the ancient Queens of Scotland, commencing with Margaret Atheling, consort of Malcolm Canmore.

and gentlemen who were taken at Solway Moss. They arrived in London on the 19th December. Two days later, they were all clad in a costume prepared for the occasion—namely, gowns of black damask furred with black rabbit skin, and black velvet coats decorated with the red cross of St Andrew, and conducted publicly through the streets on foot, from the Tower to Westminster, preceded by the lieutenant of the Tower on horseback. Then, being brought into the Star Chamber, they were coarsely upbraided with their misfortune, and sharply rated by the Lord Chancellor Audley, in King Henry's name, for their late invasion of his realm. But Audley added, in conclusion, "that his Majesty meant to return good for evil, and to give a signal instance of the benignity of his most princely nature, by releasing them from personal restraint; and that, taking only their words for their remaining in England as prisoners at large, he would allot them their lodgings with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, and other persons of high consideration."[1]

The news of his royal nephew's death induced Henry to alter the supercilious tone he had assumed towards his noble captives, for the purpose of rendering them instrumental in his political designs on the independence of their country. He invited them to a banquet on the 26th of December, and, after sumptuously entertaining them, and treating them with the most flattering demonstrations of regard, he opened to them his desire of uniting the two realms, by a marriage between their new-born Queen and his only son, Prince Edward, the heir of the English crown. The Scottish nobles received the proposition favourably on the whole; but there were seven of them who entered into a secret bond, pledging themselves to conditions of a nature too degrading to the honour of their country to be openly declared—namely, to invest Henry with the government of Scotland during the minority of their Sovereign, and to put her person into his hands, and admit English garrisons into the principal fortresses of her realm.[2] On these con-

[1] Keith's History of Church and State of Scotland, p. 25-6. Stow's Annals. [2] Ibid.

ditions, Henry allowed them to return to Scotland; but, having probably no very strong affiance in their honour, made them give hostages, either for their return to England before a prescribed day, or the payment of the ransom at which each was valued. These seven peers were the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the Lords Somerville, Gray, Maxwell, Oliphant, and Fleming. The two earls subsequently figure in Sadler's letters to his own court as two of the most unscrupulous of the pensioned tools of Henry.[1] Bound by this pact with him, they began their homeward journey January 1, 1543. On their way they dined at Enfield, and were introduced to the little Prince to whom, as far as in them lay, they had pledged the hand of their unconscious baby Queen.[2] The beauty and early intelligence of the young heir of England probably persuaded them that they were doing no wrong to their sovereign lady in assisting to unite her to so goodly a mate. It was indeed an alliance which, if sought on fair and honourable terms by England, must have been regarded by the true friends of both countries as offering an auspicious prospect for the aggrandisement and happiness of all parties concerned—a blessed contingency having been provided, as it appeared, by the Almighty Disposer of earthly events, for the purpose of knitting a bond of union between two hostile neighbour realms. Nor can it really be supposed that Mary of Lorraine would have been opposed to such a measure as the betrothal of her daughter to the hopeful heir of England, except on the most cogent grounds. Henry's great object was to get the infant Queen, and the strongholds of her realm, into his own possession; for that end, he had his secret as well as his open articles. A shrewd hint of the nature of these is given in one of his letters to Viscount Lisle, January 8, 1542-3, wherein, after alluding to the promises made by the Scotch nobles previously to their release, he says that he has since learned that the Earl of Arran would be ordained protector, and Governor of Scotland, with full powers to govern during the minority of

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i.
[2] Keith's History of Church and State of Scotland. Stow's Annals.

"our *pronepte*" (Mary Stuart;) "which purpose, if it quietly take place," continues he, "we doubt somewhat how the noblemen who were here, our prisoners, and other of our party, shall be able, without good help, to satisfy their promises made unto us for getting into our hands of the child, the cardinal, and the other that be lets to our purpose, and of the principal holds and fortresses, whereof we have sent especial instruction to our well-beloved councillor, Sir Richard Southwell, knight, whom we appointed to accompany the Earl Bothwell to Darnton, to come and debate with the said noblemen of Scotland what were now best to be done for their safety, and the advancement of our enterprise."[1] There are also in existence papers explanatory of Henry's preparations by sea to ruin the Scotch trade, and to land his forces in Scotland to coalesce with his partisans there, together with his declarations "that such of the Scotch on the Border as would submit to his wardens, and engage themselves that the young Queen, and the government of her realm, should be committed to him, might rest secure; but those who would not should be treated as foes.[2]

Henry sunk large sums in pursuance of this object. There was not a traitor in Scotland to whom he did not grant, or promise to grant, a pension, nor a treason to which he did not contribute his support. The Earl of Glencairn had a thousand crowns as a present, and a pension of two hundred and fifty pounds; his son, the Lord Kilmaurs, had a hundred and fifty pounds per annum —and every petty traitor in proportion.[3] Whether Mary of Lorraine was aware of the disgraceful extent to which these practices were carried or not, her maternal apprehensions were painfully excited at a very early stage of the business, and she guarded her babe from all unauthorised approaches of the English party with unremitting vigilance.

[1] Hamilton Papers, printed in Maitland Club Miscellany, vol. iv. part i. p. 72.
[2] Ibid., p. 73.
[3] Guthrie's History of England. Sadler's State Papers. Keith.

Henry VIII. had, by a series of crimes the most revolting and unscrupulous, rendered himself an object of horror to all royal ladies. Within the last three years he had violated his solemn engagements, both as a king and a husband, to the Princess Anne of Cleives, and sent her fairer and briefly-loved successor in the fatal dignity of Queen of England to the block, as he had done his second consort Anne Boleyn. Then he had remorselessly butchered his aged relative, the Countess of Salisbury, his cousin, the Marquis of Exeter, besides hecatombs of less distinguished victims. Who can wonder if the widow of his nephew, James V. of Scotland, shrank in terror from the idea of consigning her tender dove to the clutches of such a vulture? Equally apprehensive was she of the designs of the Earl of Arran, now the acknowledged successor to the throne, in the event of the decease of the infant Sovereign, to whom, under such circumstances, she considered him a perilous guardian. Amidst all the dangers that appeared impending over her fatherless babe, Mary of Lorraine was unable to provide any other defence for that precious one than the sanctuary of a mother's arms. The day after the funeral of James V., January 9, the Viscount Lisle communicates to his sovereign, Henry VIII., the following information regarding the royal widow and orphan of Scotland, which he had taken the opportunity of extracting from a pursuivant who had brought a message to him from the Earl of Arran. "I asked him," writes Lisle, "where the young Princess was kept; and he said, 'With the Queen her mother, and nursed in her own chamber.'" Thus we see that Mary of Lorraine deputed her maternal duties to no hireling substitute, but watched over her infant night and day. The English warden made inquiries of the pursuivant regarding the matrimonial prospects of the maiden Queen in her first month of life. "I asked him," continues Lisle, "what devices they had of her for a husband, and he said, 'There were many wise sad men that wished her to my Lord Prince of England.'"[1]

[1] State Papers, vol. iv. p. 241.

The leading advocates for that marriage, with all the degrading conditions prescribed by Henry, were his brother-in-law the Earl of Angus, the widower of Margaret Tudor, and his brother, Sir George Douglas. These men had returned to their native country, after fifteen years' exile, to reclaim their estates, and take their places in the ensuing Parliament. Mary of Lorraine regarded the reappearance of these powerful agitators on the political arena with feelings of alarm. She had no personal quarrel with them, for they had been exiled from Scotland ten years before she had set foot in that realm; but, naturally biassed by the opinions of her royal husband, she looked upon them as dangerous and unprincipled traitors to their country and their prince. They came now with letters of recommendation from the English Sovereign, after fifteen years' residence in his court, during which every plot against the person and government of their own King had been traced to their influence. Such an accession to the national senate could not but be regarded as portentous of evil to the infant Queen and her loyal adherents. Under these circumstances, Mary of Lorraine considered it was her duty to rouse herself from the melancholy state of quiescence in which she had remained during the first agitating month of her widowhood; and, as if animated by the spirit of her late husband, King James, exerted herself in every possible way to keep down the Douglas faction. Power she had none, but her personal influence was considerable; and this she exerted in strengthening the faction of Cardinal Beton against the Regent and the English party. Whatever were the faults of Beton, he was inaccessible to the bribes of England, and, as such, better entitled to the confidence of the Queen-mother than those who were capable of selling the independence of their native land for gold. A system of counter-bribing appeared expedient to her and Beton; but, the exchequer of Scotland being in the possession of the Regent Arran, their only resource was to obtain a subsidy from France. Before this could arrive the correspondence of Beton with that court was discovered: he was

accused of treason, arrested, and incarcerated in Blackness Castle.[1]

Mary of Lorraine, finding herself unexpectedly bereft of her able counseller, condescended to acknowledge the Earl of Arran as the governor of her daughter's realm. She signed a paper containing her solemn profession of fealty to him as such, March 4, 1543. The Parliament met March 12, when the guardianship of the infant Sovereign, her daughter, was deputed to eight noble commissioners, who were entitled the Lords-keepers of the Queen's Grace. Two of them were alternately to come into office every quarter. These gentlemen were the Earls Marischal and Montrose, the Lords Livingstone, Erskine, Ruthven, Seton, Lindsay of the Byres, and Sir James Sandilands of Calder.[2] The person of the royal infant remained, nevertheless, in the possession of the Queen-mother, who, at first, resolutely shut the gates of her dower palace at Linlithgow against every one of the Lord-keepers except Lord Livingstone, whom she honoured with her confidence.[3]

It would have been no difficult achievement for the Governor to have entered Mary of Lorraine's unfortified abode, and forcibly bereaved her of her precious nursling; but he was a man of soft and conciliating temper, and ventured not to fly in the face of public opinion by violent measures. He was aware that nothing could be more precarious than the existence of a tender infant of a few weeks old; that the two princes, her brothers, had died suddenly; and well he knew that, if the same contingency were to befall her, he should be publicly branded as her murderer, and exposed to the fury of the people. There was not, perhaps, a widowed mother in Scotland but sympathised with Mary of Lorraine in her present position; and all the loyal party, and of course the prelates and ecclesiastics of her own church, encouraged her in her defence of her maternal rights.

[1] Keith. Knox. Tytler.
[2] Acts of the Scotch Parliament, vol. ii. p. 414.
[3] Lesley's History of Scotland—Mary's Life.

The life of the infant Queen was peculiarly important to the realm, because, although the Earl of Arran was the acknowledged successor to the crown, his legitimacy was openly impugned by his cousin, the Earl of Lennox, whose claims were supported by the French party; so that, in the event of her death, a renewal of civil wars, obstinate and destructive as the unforgotten contest of Bruce and Baliol, might be expected. Nothing, indeed, could be more strikingly analogous than the situation of Scotland in regard to the regal succession during the nominal reign of her first Queen-regnant, Margaret of Norway, and the commencement of that of Mary Stuart—a parallel not lost on Henry VIII., who, in preparing to follow the example of his predecessor Edward I., like him made the preliminary step by seeking the young maiden Queen, his great-niece, for the bride of his eldest son, the heir of England; only, with a far more subtle and dishonourable policy than that of his warlike ancestor, he had secretly taken measures with his pensioners in the Scotch aristocracy to secure the crown of Scotland to himself, in the event of her decease. These particulars, which really belong to Mary Stuart's early life, are necessarily related in the biography of her mother, Mary of Lorraine, which would otherwise be incomprehensible to readers not intimately acquainted with the documentary history and correspondence of that remarkable period. Besides, Mary of Lorraine felt, thought, and acted for the unconscious babe, whose presence-chamber was her own bed-room, and whose cradle-throne was agitated by the conflicting storms created by the gold of England, the return of the Solway Moss captives, and the banished Douglases. The correspondence of Henry's ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, gives life-like and dramatic interest to the events of the next nine months, and oh, how many an unsuspected trait of villany in high places does it unfold! Sir Ralph came, soon after the opening of the Scotch Parliament, under the ostensible character of Henry's ambassador for a treaty of peace and marriage, but in reality as his accredited spy and corrupter-general. He was charged with full powers for the nego-

tiation of the marriage between the juvenile heir of England and the little sovereign lady in her swaddling-clothes. He also carried a full purse, to quiet the scruples of the doubtful and wavering among those who had voices in the matter.[1]

Sadler presented his credentials to the Governor Arran in the gardens of Holyrood Palace, and received an honourable welcome, the Governor assuring him "that King Henry should have him at command in all things saving his duty to his sovereign lady and the realm, and so consigned him to the care of Sir George Douglas, to attend him to his lodgings." This was the very thing Sadler desired, Sir George being, as we shall see from his own lips, entirely at the English Sovereign's devotion. When they had withdrawn into the privacy of Sadler's chamber, "I began with him," writes his excellency to Henry VIII., "in this sort, that your Majesty had commanded me to use his advice in all things as his trusty servant, and therefore prayed him to declare the state of all things here, as your Majesty trusted he would do sincerely. 'Marry,' quoth he, "I have laboured with all my power to do the King's Majesty service, and will do while I live, wherein I have always *pretended outwardly* the commonwealth of Scotland, and spake not much of England, because I would not be suspected.'" After explaining how he prevented a rival parliament being held by the Cardinal's party at Perth, by seizing that town, he added—"And now all is well, and we have kept our Parliament honourably, and have concluded by open Parliament that the King's Majesty shall have the marriage of our young mistress, and that we shall be assured friends to England for ever. And our ambassadors be ready to go to his Majesty with full powers to conclude and contract the marriage; which, being done, there is no doubt but, by little and little, his Majesty shall have his whole desire."[2]

This slow sure method of working the English Sovereign's will was not in accordance with the imperious tem-

[1] Sadler's State Papers, edited by Sir Walter Scott. [2] Ibid.

per of the royal despot, who, having succeeded in trampling the boasted laws and liberties of his own realm under foot, was eager to bow the sturdy independence of North Britain beneath his iron sceptre. Sadler reminded Sir George Douglas that Henry, "taking him and his brother Angus for his faithful servants, desired to remind them and the other nobles lately his prisoners of their large promises to him, and wondered why he had not heard oftener from them." Douglas said that those who were well affected to him—viz., the traitors Glencairn, Cassillis, Somerville, and Gray—had promised more than they were able to perform;[1] and the others had all gone from their engagements, which they had never intended to keep. "But," continued he, "my brother and I have many friends come to us; so that we, with those noblemen afore-mentioned, which have been assured to the King's Majesty, are too strong a party for the rest, so long as we keep the Governor that he start not from us; for by him we must work all things for the King's purpose, unless we should go to do it by force, for which the time serveth not." To this Sadler replied—"The King's Majesty hath had large offers, as ye know, both for the government of the realm, and to have the child [meaning the infant Queen] brought into his hands, with also the strongholds, according to your promises; and if your ambassadors should come now with mean things, not agreeable to his highness, you are a wise man—ye know what may ensue of it."[2]

"Why," said Douglas, "his Majesty shall have the marriage offered to be contracted; and, having that first, the rest may follow in time. But, for my part, I made no such promise as ye speak of, and they that made such promises are not able to perform them. For surely the noblemen will not agree to have her out of the realm, because she is their mistress; but they are content that the King's Majesty shall appoint some gentlemen of England, and some English ladies, to be here about her person, for her better tuition, at his Majesty's pleasure, and this entry at the first may

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 68. [2] Ibid. p. 69.

bring her wholly into his hands in short time; but, I tell you, all things cannot be done at once."[1] He then wound up his objections—not against the treason, but against a premature attempt at its performance—with assuring Sadler "that there was not a boy so little but he would hurl stones at the abettors of it; that the women would do battle against it with their distaffs; that the commons universally would rather die in the quarrel than permit it; and that many of the nobles, and all the clergy, would be opposed to it."[2] This emphatic testimony to the stainless loyalty and fearless spirit which animated not only the men, but the women and children of Scotland, in defence of their national honour, ought to have covered the high-born traitor who pronounced it with shame. How different were his feelings towards his country from those which warmed the true hearts of the brave little stone-throwers and honest spinners, whose indignation he feared to encounter, yet scrupled not to deserve. The wily representative of Henry VIII. must have smiled at the delicacy of Lord Somerville too, who, after pocketing his bribes, complained that the Earl of Bothwell called him and the Douglases "pensioners of England"[3]—a name at which they winced, having a salutary dread of the distaffs of Scotland before their eyes.

Sadler met by appointment the Earl of Angus, the day after this conversation, at the Blackfriars, at mass. There also came the Earl of Glencairn, though professedly one of the Reformers. The righteous trio began to discuss the secret articles of the young Queen's marriage. Sadler pressed for the great point, the custody of her person, and inquired "how she should be brought to King Henry's hands?" They replied "that could not be obtained, for the Lords were very stiff on that point, and would not have her out of the realm; but were content, as Sir George Douglas had suggested, that some of her household should be English, appointed by King Henry. More at present could not be obtained, though all would in time, if his

[1] Sadler's State Papers. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

Majesty could be patient for a while." The Earl of Angus said, "for his part, he was but newly returned, and was not yet able to serve his Majesty so fully as he trusted to do, but begged him to be assured that he was, and ever would be, a true Englishman."[1] An honourable boast for a Scotchman, in sooth!

To write a true and lucid history of Mary Stuart, as well as of her mother, it is necessary to enter a little into the English State Papers, in order to explain the *animus* of those persons who commenced the agitations which troubled the realm of their infant Sovereign. Sufficient reason is there unfolded for the mistrust with which they were regarded by the Queen-mother. The dissimulation which she, in her womanly policy, practised in her dealings with them and their suborner, Sir Ralph Sadler, was dictated by the danger of her child; and, though indefensible in a moral point of view, was the natural result of the treachery with which she saw herself surrounded. In this predicament she turned for advice and succour to her adopted father and native sovereign, Francis I. of France, the old ally of Scotland, whom she regarded as the natural protector of her daughter's realm against the designs of England. Cardinal Beton had, for the purpose of embarrassing the Regent Arran, entered into a secret correspondence with Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, (the rival of the Hamilton claims to the regal succession, who was at that time in the service of France,) persuading him that, if he would return to Scotland and dispute the legitimacy of the Earl of Arran, he might obtain not only the regency of the realm, but the Hamilton estates—to which, if Arran were declared illegitimate, he was the true heir. In addition to these mighty temptations, he flattered Lennox with hopes of the hand of the still young and beautiful Queen-mother, and the guardianship of the infant Sovereign.[2]

Mary of Lorraine and the Gallic Scotch Earl were old

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 74-5.
[2] Lindsay of Pitscottie. Buchanan. Tytler.

acquaintances, having often met at the court of France, and it is possible that he had remained a bachelor for her sake. At all events, the desire of becoming her husband appears at that time to have been his leading passion. Matthew, Earl of Lennox, made his first appearance in Scotland as the accredited envoy of his adopted sovereign, Francis I. of France, in whose service he had found fortune and favour. He landed on the 30th of March 1543, and committed a great breach of diplomatic etiquette by not presenting his credentials to the Governor till the 26th of April. In the interim he conferred with the rival powers, and visited the Queen Dowager at Linlithgow Palace, from whom he received encouragement very flattering to his suit for the third reversion of her hand. A Frenchman in language, dress, and manners, skilled in all the accomplishments of the polished court of Valois, the handsomest man of the age withal, it is strange that no impression was made by Lennox on the heart of the royal widow, who condescended to enter into what, in these days, would be considered a most unprincipled flirtation with him. She did this, however, purely on the icy grounds of political expediency, in compliance with the advice of her principal counsellor, Cardinal Beton, who indeed scrupled not to enter into such engagements in her behalf, with the enamoured Earl, as to deceive him into the idea that she was under promise of marriage to him.

Much dissimulation, and no slight spice of coquetry, are to be traced in the conduct of the royal widow of Scotland at this period of her life. These, in the absence of all other means of protection, were the defences with which she artfully endeavoured to gain time, and circumvent the designs of King Henry and his party. It was by flattering the Governor with the hope of gaining the infant Queen as a consort for his son, that she deterred him from surrendering that defenceless babe to the English Sovereign, which she had no power to prevent him from doing. The Earl of Argyll was drawn to support her interests by the same lure, and the Earl of Bothwell by passionate love to herself.

She gave his first audience to Sir Ralph Sadler, at her palace of Linlithgow, on the 23d of March 1543, to receive King Henry's compliments, and letters from him. These unfolded, with due ceremonials of respect to herself, the purpose of the desired marriage between the young heir of England and the infant Queen her daughter, and requested her consent and furtherance of the same. So far from testifying the slightest reluctance, Mary of Lorraine, in the first excitement of maternal ambition, forgot her distrust, and received the proposal of this brilliant alliance in the most gracious manner, and professed herself greatly beholden to Henry, for being pleased to determine such honour and advancement to her daughter.[1] "The world might justly note her to be the most unnatural and unwise woman that lived," she said, "if she did not heartily desire and rejoice in the same, for she knew not throughout the world any marriage could be found so proper, so beneficial, and honourable as this;" observing, "that she could not but regard it as the work of God, for the conjunction and union of both their realms, that she, who had hitherto had only sons, should now have brought forth a daughter for this best of purposes." The Dauphin Francis was not then born, it should be remembered, that prince being nearly a year younger than Mary Stuart; therefore the heir of England was not only the most suitable, but the greatest match that could have been offered for the young Queen of Scotland. Her royal mother probably thought so too, occasionally: hence the vacillation and ambiguity of her conduct. She even went so far as to humour Sadler in his most unreasonable requisition that the infant Sovereign should be delivered into King Henry's hands. Like all insincere persons, Mary of Lorraine boasted of her frankness and plain-dealing, declaring "that it became her not to play the dissembler with so noble a Prince as his Majesty of England;" and so she charged his guileful representative to assure him. The great object of this Princess was to create dissension between King Henry and the

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 84.

Regent Arran, not being quite so well aware as those who have gone through the state papers of that era that Arran was only one degree less distasteful to Henry than Cardinal Beton, there being then three parties in Scotland, of which Arran's was at once the most moderate and the strongest, as occupying the middle ground between the English faction and the French. But, being the next heir to the crown, he excited the maternal fears and jealousies of Mary of Lorraine, who took this opportunity of telling Sadler that the Governor, whatsoever pretence or "fair weather," as she termed it, "he made to the King his master, had no real intention that her daughter should marry into England;" declaring "that he had told her that, to please King Henry, they would indeed enter into a contract, but would insist on retaining their young Queen till she came to be of lawful age, by which time God might dispose of his Majesty, being already well grown in years, and then it would come to none effect." Mary of Lorraine knew this expression would be considered as a great affront by Henry, who never could forgive any allusion to the possibility of his departing this life. She declared, and most probably very truly, "that the Governor told her this himself, and that she had been very anxious to have an opportunity of advertising King Henry of the same, by one of his most trusty servants, for she durst not mention it either to French or Scot;" therefore she besought Sadler to keep this communication a profound secret, otherwise it would bring her into great danger, being entirely in the power of the Governor, "straightly looked to, and having none of her own servants about her." She said, moreover, "that the Governor, his Parliament and Council, had concluded not to deliver the child into Henry's hands for sundry reasons." These she, with consummate address, recapitulated in terms the most calculated to provoke Henry's wrath against her political opponent, and at the same time to convince him that Scotland would never submit to his own desire of transporting the infant Sovereign into England, while she herself affected to be willing to concede the point. "The Governor and the Par-

liament objected," she said, "that it were not meet to have their Queen out of the realm, in whose name and authority all public acts were done. It was also feared that, if God should call her, they would ever have another child in England to substitute in her place"[1]—certainly a most alarming consideration to the heir-presumptive to the crown; "and, again, if God should dispose his pleasure of my Lord Prince's Grace, the child, being in England, might be married there to some other, contrary to the weal of her realm, and to her own disparagement; so that, if once in his Majesty's hands, howsoever the game went, he would be able to dispose of the inheritance and crown of the realm at his pleasure." Then the fair diplomatist assured Sadler, "that the root of all the Governor's objections to the English marriage was his desire of wedding the little Queen to his own son; therefore, unless the King stood fast to his original demand of having the custody of her person, the marriage would never take effect."[2] Having brought the conversation to this climax, for the purpose of demonstrating the improbability of the Governor acting so much against his own interest and secret views as to condescend to Henry's desire, she directed the ambassador's attention to Cardinal Beton as a person who, if in power, would be more likely to oblige him, having no son to aggrandise by a marriage with the young Sovereign, observing, "The Cardinal, if he were here at liberty, might do much good in the same." "The Cardinal would rather do hurt," I think, rejoined Sadler, "for he has no affection towards England." "He is a wise man," replied Mary of Lorraine, "and can better understand the good of the realm than all the rest."[3]

Sadler and Henry were too well aware of the intractability of that proud and incorruptible statesman to assist in obtaining the restoration of his liberty. Mary of Lorraine, perceiving that she would only lose her labour, and expose herself to suspicion, if she continued to act as special pleader on his behalf, dropped the sub-

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 86. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

ject, and returned to her charges against the Governor; repeating again and again that he would neither consent to deliver her child nor give pledges for the performance of the marriage. "She told me," says Sadler, "that she was sure the Governor would now, knowing I had been with her, come shortly to see her, in order to learn what had passed between her and me. 'And,' quoth she, 'when he cometh, I shall, as my custom is, make as though I were not well willing to the marriage; and then, as he is a simple man, he will tell me his whole intent on that part; and if I should not do so he would keep himself the more covert and close, and tell me nothing. And what I shall further perceive by him, how he is disposed in the matter on your coming, if I can find any mean to speak with you, or send to you, ye shall have knowledge of it.'" Sadler told her Majesty that, if he received a hint from her to that effect, he would make some errand again to see her—the object of the royal widow being, under the pretext of gaining intelligence for him, to sift and cross-question him, so as to gain all the information she could of the designs of England, and, above all, to learn who were his secret confederates in Henry's project. But Mary of Lorraine had to deal with the shrewdest and most artful of politicians—one who was cold to all her fascinations, and only bestowed his time and attention on her, in the hope of beguiling her into becoming an instrument in the plot against her infant daughter. In the course of the conversation, the fair Dowager complained "that King Henry had written to the Governor, as the latter had informed her, 'that there had been a contract betwixt the Earl of Lennox and her;' to which she had replied 'that it was untrue, and that, now since she had been a king's wife, her heart was too high to look any lower.'"[1] This was probably intended as a coquettish hint to her quondam lover, Henry VIII., intimating that she might not perhaps be wholly inaccessible to the suit of a royal wooer. Considering Henry's disregard of the opinion

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 86.

of the world, and his vehement desire of accomplishing his present object—the annexation of Scotland—the only wonder is he did not renew his suit for the hand of Mary of Lorraine, in the course of his negotiations for a marriage between her infant daughter and his son. And this might have been the case, perchance, had he not been at that time entangled in the snares of a new-born passion for a lovely widow in his own court. [1]

But to return to the actual details of this very interesting conversation between Henry's ambassador and the Dowager of Scotland,—Sadler protested that his Sovereign had written no such matter to the Governor; "but," added he, "I remember that such a saying was, that your Grace should marry with the Earl of Lennox."

"By my troth," replied she, "it is utterly untrue, for I never minded it.[2] And so," continued she, "it was a saying that my father should come here with an army, which likewise is untrue. It may be that the Earl of Lennox may come hither, with what power I cannot tell; but sure I am my father is in Champagne, to prepare the French King's army there against the Emperor, as a Frenchman told me who arrived here lately by sea."[3] After a little more conversation on these matters, she inquired how it stood between his Majesty and the King of France, expressing her earnest hope that no dissension might ensue between them. Sadler replied that, "as far as he knew, all was well at present." Then he demanded, in Henry's name, according to his instructions, some explanation touching the strange demeanour of one of her Majesty's servants, whom she had lately sent to him. She protested "no harm was intended by her, and was sorry the King of England should fancy he had cause for mistrust." "I told her," writes his excellency to Henry, "that your Majesty had information of her virtue, wisdom, and experience to be such as you

[1] The Lady Latimer, who is better known in history under her maiden name of Katharine Parr.—See her Biography in the Lives of the Queens of England.

[2] Here Mary of Lorraine used the Scotch idiomatic expression for never intended or thought of such a thing.

[3] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 86–7.

could not possibly suspect her, and doubted not that she would apply it to that which would be most to her honour and the surety and benefit of her daughter, which, if she weighed well, she might perceive would rest in your Majesty; but, otherwise, there might be great danger. She confessed the same, and wished to God she, the little Queen, 'were in your Majesty's hands; for,' quoth she, 'it hath been seldom seen that the heir of the realm should be in the custody of him that claimeth the succession of the realm, as the Governor is now established by Parliament the second person in the realm, and, if my daughter fail, looketh to be King of the same.'"

The natural explanation of the contradictions in the conduct of the royal widow is, that when her maternal apprehensions for the life of her babe were uppermost, leading her to entertain suspicions of the designs of her kinsman Arran, Mary of Lorraine encouraged the idea of sending her to England for personal safety. Her characteristic caution and indecision of character disposed her to advance and draw back, in respect to the English alliance, according to her varying views of the subject, and the information she received from those about her.

In addition to other implied acts of disloyalty, the Governor had, it seems, been guilty of the *lèse-majesté* of depreciating the beauty and life-like promise of his sovereign lady, then in the fourth month of her age. The Queen-mother regarded this as a great affront both to her baby and herself; and, intent on disproving so impertinent a falsehood, complained to Sir Ralph Sadler "that the Governor had reported that the child was sickly, and not likely to live; but," continued she, "you shall see whether he saith true or not." Then, in the genuine spirit of fond and proud maternity, she took the grave diplomatist into the chamber where her darling was, and exultingly displayed her to him—not only in the pomp of her early regality, but in all her infantine loveliness, for she made the nurse divest her of her trappings, and unswaddle her, that he might see her naked. "I assure your Majesty," writes Sadler to his own Sovereign, "it is as goodly a child as I have

seen of her age, and as like to live, with the grace of God."[1]

Mary of Lorraine not only achieved one object during this her first interview with the English ambassador, in convincing him, from the evidence of his own eyes, that the Governor had made a most unfaithful representation of the health of the young Queen, but she had greatly shaken his confidence in the leading members of the Anglo-Scottish faction. "If it be true that the Dowager saith," writes Sir Ralph Sadler to Henry, "surely there is great dissimulation among them, specially in the Governor, who is also governed by Sir George Douglas. This same Sir George," continues he, "was appointed to accompany me in this journey towards Linlithgow, with other gentlemen, and after I had spoken with the said Dowager, she called the said Sir George unto her, who told me afterwards 'that she had demanded of him whether the child should be delivered into England or not, praying him to help to the contrary, because she was too young to be carried so far.' And so he began to persuade me that she, 'the Queen Dowager, was nothing willing nor conformable to your Majesty's purpose in that behalf.' Thus your Majesty shall perceive that some juggling there is, which with the grace of God a little time shall reveal."[2]

Now, even if it really were the resolute determination of Mary of Lorraine never to resign her tender babe into Henry's hands; yet, having assumed to the contrary in her conference with his envoy, it is scarcely probable that she would have committed herself, as soon as he left her presence, by telling her mind plainly to a person for whom she had so little esteem as Sir George Douglas, the partisan and pensioner of England. Sir Ralph Sadler, evidently having small confidence in the sincerity of either, confesses himself to be in a state of perplexity "as to which of the twain he was to believe, and declares his intention to travail to the best of his wit to decipher the mystery."

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i.

[2] Ibid.

The complimentary expressions of Mary of Lorraine, on the proposed matrimonial alliance for her infant daughter, as detailed in Sir Ralph Sadler's report of the above interview to Henry VIII., put that prince into such high good-humour, that he directed his council to bestow his hearty thanks on the diplomatist to whose wisdom and able management he imputed her tractability on this occasion. Moreover, he gave her Majesty credit for her frankness—a virtue which certainly formed no part of the characteristics of that Princess, nor was she by any moral law compelled to exercise it in this business:—the wisdom of the serpent being rather more requisite than the innocence of the dove, in her dealings with the representative of the heartless tyrant who aimed at robbing her of her child, for the purpose of defrauding it of its regal inheritance. Henry was, nevertheless, more inclined to confide in her sincerity than in that of his Scottish pensioners, whose dealings with him had not entitled them to his respect. He greatly misdoubted that the master-spirit of his own party, Sir George Douglas was playing fast and loose with him, and fancied, withal, that it would be easier to render the royal mother instrumental to the treason of delivering the infant Sovereign of the realm into his hands, than to prevail on either the nobles or the Governor to incur the odium of such a deed. Passionately desirous as Henry was of children, he was a stranger to paternal tenderness, and certainly understood nothing of the self-devotion of maternal love. He ordered Sadler to repair immediately to the Queen-mother, and to renew his discourse about the conveyance of her child to England, and inquire of her what lords she thought would be willing to assist in the abduction; and, when he should have induced her to name them, to use his utmost diligence to persuade them, with rewards and promises, to enter into his measures for that purpose.[1] The object of Mary of Lorraine being to amuse and circumvent King Henry, to sow dissension and mutual mistrust between him and his pensioners in the Scotch

[1] Sadler's State Papers, p. 100.

Parliament, and break the alliance between him and the Governor, she sent a credential letter to Sir Ralph Sadler by one of her servants, who informed him that her Majesty, having somewhat to communicate which she would not trust in writing, desired him to take an opportunity of coming over to Linlithgow to speak with her, and by no means to bring the same persons who accompanied him last time. These were Lord Methven, Lord Ochiltree, Sir George Douglas, and James Stuart, who had been appointed to attend him by the Governor. Sadler sent word that he would not fail to take the earliest opportunity of waiting upon her. He thought proper, however, to mention this to Sir George Douglas, who was on terms of great intimacy with the Governor, in order to obtain licence from him to revisit the Queen Dowager. Sir George told him "there was no doubt of his getting the Governor's permission for that purpose, though he might conceive suspicion thereat." So jealously was all correspondence with the royal widow watched. In fact, though treated with the outward manifestations of that respect which was her due as the widow of the late Sovereign, and the mother of her who was so entitled, Mary of Lorraine was, at this period of her life, neither more nor less than a prisoner of state within the walls of her own dower palace, surrounded by spies, and without the power of removing with her infant daughter to any other place. She had recently solicited leave of the Governor to change her abode from Linlithgow to Stirling, for the benefit of her health and that of the little Queen, from whom no consideration could induce her to separate even for an hour. The permission was at first granted, but it was rescinded before she could take advantage of it.[1]

All the royal palaces in Scotland, except those that were settled on Mary of Lorraine by her marriage articles with the late King James V.—to which articles her adopted father, the King of France, was one of the trustees—were

[1] Sadler's State Papers, p. 106.

in possession of the Earl of Arran, as the Lord-governor of the realm for the infant Sovereign. All the treasure, plate, jewels, and even the garments of the late King, were in his keeping, as well as the crown lands and revenues. An amusing insight into his application of the funds belonging to the wardrobe department is obtained by the examination of the Royal Compotus, kept at that time by Kirkaldy of Grange. Very trifling are the sums disbursed for the use of either the Sovereign or her mother, compared with the outlay for the Governor and his family. Indeed, the Royal Compotus changes its character from that of a record of the Privy Purse expenses of the reigning monarch of Scotland, into a household book for the Earl of Arran and his progeny. Manifold are the entries for the plenishing of my Lady Barbara, his eldest daughter, on her appointment as one of the noble maids of honour attendant on the person of the Queen-mother. There are sums expended in gowns, hoods, kirtles, and other gear, for the said young lady—pillions and gold-embroidered side-saddle and reins. On the 5th March we have the following entry: "For sewing of three sarks for my Lord-governor, thirty shillings." Not only did his disinterested Grace pay for the sewing of his own sarks out of his liege lady's exchequer, but he generously endows his brother, James Hamilton, with three sarks from the same source, and five quarters of canvass, "to be ane wallet to keep his sarks in;" also sarks for his son, besides coats of satin for himself, and everything that can be imagined of finery for his sons—*skule* books for them, and *pokis* to keep them in, trappings for their horses, and fittings-out for another of his daughters, my Lady Jane, to be with the Queen's Grace; and, finally, the portioning of these young ladies with suitable dowries in marriage. These being only trifling examples of the sweets of the eagerly coveted office of Regent, no wonder that it was the policy of the most self-interested among the powerful members of the Scotch nobles to do all they could to create regal minorities, each being in the hope of getting the control of the national purse.[1]

[1] Excerpts from the Exchequer Records in the Register House.

On his return to Edinburgh, Sadler proceeded to seek a conference with the Governor, who in the course of conversation asked the interesting question, "How he liked the old Queen, and the young Queen?" "I said," writes Sadler to his royal master, "I liked them both well, and praised the young Princess, which I said was a very goodly child, and like to live. I added 'that she was like to live,' to hear what he would say, because I had heard, both from the Queen Dowager and otherwise, that he was of a contrary opinion. He affirmed my saying, and asked me 'how I found the Queen [Mary of Lorraine] disposed towards the marriage?' I said that I had no commission to feel her mind in that part, but generally, having commandment to visit her, being a noble personage, Dowager of the realm, and to make your Majesty's hearty commendations unto her, for the which purpose I brought your letters of commendation only; and, as far as I could perceive, I thought she would be well enough content with the marriage, which, if she tendered her own honour and the advancement and benefit of her daughter, she could not but effectually desire."[1]

The Governor assented to the suitable nature of the union, but suggested that, being a Frenchwoman, the Queen-mother could not be well inclined to England. Sadler then urged him to expedite the matter himself with all his influence, assuring him that King Henry was not a person to be trifled with, or safely irritated. The Governor replied that he did nothing alone, that the Scotch ambassadors for the marriage, who had just set out for England, received their commission from the three Estates of the realm in Parliament; "and," continued he, "if I had not earnestly minded that the King's Majesty should have the marriage of our young Queen, I could have had a contract betwixt her and my son passed and established by this Parliament, wherein I am sure no man would have been against me—trusting that the King's Majesty will the rather be friendly to me, for I have had mickle cumber among the kirkmen for his sake."

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 91-2.

When Sadler requested leave to visit the Queen Dowager, his Grace pettishly observed, "that, whatever might be her pretences to the contrary, he would find her a right Frenchwoman," and complained "that she had sent one of her servants to inform King Henry that he intended to marry the young Queen to his son." This he denied with a great oath, swearing that she belied him, and only said this to bring him into ill-will with his Majesty. He confessed that, before the English marriage was proposed, he had not only cherished the idea of obtaining her for his son, but he had even conferred with the Queen Dowager about it, and found her both willing and conformable; but, since the home-coming of the prisoners who proposed the English alliance, he had given up all thoughts of his family aggrandisement for the good of the realm. He appeared greatly moved at the reported sayings of the fair Dowager, asserting that "she studied nothing more than to set the King's Majesty and him at *pick*, and so to keep both realms from unity, that Scotland might still keep to the French alliance.[1] This," continued he, "is her only device, which, as she is both subtle and wily, so hath she a *vengeable ingine* and wit to work her purpose; and still she laboureth, by all means she can, to have the Cardinal at liberty, by whom—being as good a Frenchman as she is a Frenchwoman—she might the rather compass her intent." There can be no doubt but the Governor had fully penetrated the policy of Mary of Lorraine, and formed a pretty correct estimate of her character. As for Sadler, guileful as he was, he fairly confessed himself bewildered between her statements and those of the Governor, and declared "he knew not which to believe."

The widowed Queen received a second visit at Linlithgow, from Sadler, on the 2d of April, according to her request. The reason she sent for him was to relate what had passed between her and the Governor, who had lately been with her, and to tell him that they had discussed the marriage between the Prince of England and her daughter. She said

[1] Sadler's State Papers.

"she had found him wholly opposed to it, as he was fully determined to marry her to his own son, and had assured her he would rather die than deliver the child into King Henry's hands; but intended to give good words and make fair weather to obtain peace, till better opportunity should serve for the execution of his design."[1] She told Sadler, also, "that the Governor had advised her 'to give him good words, for that he was a haughty fellow,'"—"wherein," observes the smooth diplomatist, "I trust I should have testimony, if need were, that he mistaketh me." Her Majesty asked Sadler "how he found the Governor and Lords inclined?" He replied, "Well given, and affectionately inclined to the marriage, and desirous of the peace." "But I am sure ye see not in them that they intend to deliver the child into the King's hands," was her rejoinder. Sadler said, "They gave good words, and professed their desire of satisfying the King on that behalf." "Yea," said she, "peradventure the Governor will offer one of his sons in pledge for the performance of the marriage, of which I have heard a hint; but that is not sufficient, for he hath *moe* sons than one, and belike, for a kingdom, he will be content to lose one of them. I hear say that they can be content that the King's Majesty shall appoint a certain number of Englishmen and ladies to be here about the person of the young Queen, for her better safeguard and surety. But what is that to the purpose?—He shall never the sooner get her into his hands. And therefore I doubt not but his Majesty, being a wise man, hath had such experience of practices in the world, and of fair words, that he will not trust to words."[2] She then urged the expediency of King Henry demanding sufficient pledges for the performance of the marriage, which otherwise would never take place, the Governor being determined to reserve it for his son. "And greatly," she said, "she feared the safety of the child, for she heard so many tales that the Governor would convey her to a strong house of his own, where she would be altogether in his hands, or else to the Isles." The apprehensions which

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 112.

[2] Ibid., i. 175.

agitated the heart of the royal mother at the idea of the defenceless little Queen falling into the hands of the nearest heir to the Crown being thus openly avowed, Sadler represented how much better it would be if she were in England. In her present mood Mary of Lorraine appeared to think so too, and exclaimed, "she would then be in the hands of friends, and out of danger." The ambassador took the opportunity of inquiring her opinion of the different great men of Scotland, and how far she thought any of them inclinable to further the project of putting the royal babe into Henry's hands. She replied that she knew none of their minds on that subject, but thought Lord Maxwell and Lord Fleming were the "best to be trusted;" and insinuated that Cardinal Beton would have been a good minister for bringing that matter to pass.[1]

Sadler assured her that could not enter into his creed. In fact, the wily ambassador had been secretly practising with the Governor, and some of the English party, to send Beton into England. It was Henry's most ardent desire, next to the possession of the infant Queen, to get that great object of his hatred into his power. In this matter he was, however, outwitted by the skilful manœuvring of the Dowager, who induced Lord Seton to release Beton. Mary of Lorraine's perception of character was acute, and she appears, though undoubtedly of a secretive disposition, to have given her opinions freely enough to Sadler. She described the Governor Arran as the simplest and most inconstant man in the world, for whatsoever he determined one day he changed the next. When asked what she thought of the Earl of Angus, and how he stood affected to the marriage of the Queen her daughter, she said "she thought him of no policy or ingine," as she called it, and that he was altogether directed by his brother Sir George Douglas, who was as wily and crafty a man as any in Scotland.[2] This was the father of the Regent Morton—a son well worthy such a sire.

The proceedings of the Earl of Lennox, the accredited

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 115-16.

[2] Ibid.

envoy of the King of France, and the emancipation of Cardinal Beton, gave great uneasiness to the Governor and Sir Ralph Sadler, it being suspected they would endeavour to raise a force, and deliver the royal mother and daughter from the restraint in which they lived at Linlithgow. Sir George Douglas was earnest with the Governor to prevent such an attempt, by removing the child to the castle of Edinburgh. This was, however, out of the Governor's power, for the Parliament had appointed that she should be kept nowhere but at Linlithgow or Stirling, without the special consent of the Queen-mother and the Estates of the realm. Mary of Lorraine, when her leave was sought, objected to every plan suggested by her political rivals.

One of the most favoured servants and confidential friends of the Queen-mother was Malcolm, Lord Fleming, who had married Janet Stuart, the illegitimate sister of her late lord, King James V. He was one of the Solway Moss prisoners, and had obtained his liberty, like the rest, by engaging to promote the marriage between young Edward of England and his little Sovereign; but he took the earliest opportunity of cutting the connection with the English faction, for which, as a true Scot, he saw abundant reason—the more so from having been admitted behind the scenes so far as to be acquainted with Henry's schemes against the independence of Scotland. On the 12th of April he came to visit Sir Ralph Sadler, with a message from the Queen Dowager, the object of which was to shake his confidence in Sir George Douglas, and to repeat to him that the Governor had said "he would rather take the young Queen, and carry her with him into the Isles, and go and dwell there, than he would marry her into England."[1]

There was at this time a report that King Henry had renewed his old suit to Mary of Lorraine, and that she was likely to accept the perilous honour of becoming the sixth Queen to the royal English Bluebeard. This tale reaching the Governor's ears, he forthwith posted down to Linlithgow,

[1] Sadler's State Papers.

and demanded of the fair Dowager "whether the King of England had entered into any purpose of marriage with her; and, if so, whether she intended to go and dwell in England?" Mary of Lorraine, who seldom gave a direct answer to any one, saw no reason why she should satisfy the curiosity of the Governor by signifying her intention to him, even if she had been so lost to propriety as to entertain thoughts of matrimony with her husband's uncle. Aware, too, that everything she said on that subject, if of a disqualifying nature, would be eagerly repeated by the Governor to Sadler, and that Henry was not of a temper to forgive a lady's scorn, she prudently replied, "If his Majesty, being one of the noblest princes of the greatest reputation this day in the world, should mind"—that is, intend—"or offer unto me such honour, I could not but account myself most bound to his Highness for the same."

The Governor obligingly told her "that King Henry did but dissemble with her, for, whatever she communicated to that Prince, his Majesty did forthwith again advertise him of the same." The royal widow, with coquettish intentions perchance, instantly despatched her confidential friend, Lord Fleming, to inform Sir Ralph Sadler of this interesting conversation, together with the assurance "that the King of England should find her a true and plain gentlewoman in all her proceedings, and singularly well affected to all his Majesty's desires."[1] This oracular message was probably intended to imply either with regard to Prince Edward's alliance with her daughter, or his own supposed purpose of matrimony with herself—perhaps both. Sadler, after relating these particulars to his royal master, declares himself "more perplexed than ever with what he hears, but considers himself in duty bound to write every man's tale, that his Majesty may be the better able to judge what will be the most expedient for the accomplishment of his most noble and virtuous desires,"[2]—implying with diplomatic delicacy, we imagine, his readiness to undertake the twofold office of procurator

[1] Sadler to Henry VIII.; State Papers, 134-5. [2] Ibid.

for the marriage of Henry with the blooming Dowager of Scotland, as well as that of his son, Prince Edward, with her daughter. It was, however, impossible for Henry, after all the scruples of conscience on which he grounded his divorce from Katharine of Arragon, to demand the reversion of the hand of the relict of his nephew for himself, and her daughter by that Prince for his son at the same time.

Among other news, Sadler announced in this letter the accomplishment of a marriage which had been long traversed by the Governor—namely, that of the mature widower of Henry's late sister, Queen Margaret—Archibald, Earl of Angus—to the daughter of Lord Maxwell. This was about the fourth wife the Earl had married, either legally or illegally, and no doubt the circumstance caused some amusement in the Queen Dowager's court at Linlithgow. He was the step-grandfather to the infant sovereign of the realm—Mary Stuart.

Mary of Lorraine had so completely persuaded Henry VIII. that the Governor was bent on reserving the marriage of the little Queen for his own son, that, in the hope of diverting him from that design, the English sovereign empowered Sir Ralph Sadler to propose a union between the youthful heir of Hamilton and the Princess Elizabeth, then a girl of nine years old, little attended to in the English court, on account of her mother's disgrace, but afterwards celebrated as the greatest female sovereign in history. When this alliance was first named to the Governor, he reverentially doffed his cap, and desired Sadler "to write to his Majesty, humbly thanking him a thousand times for the great honour it pleased so mighty a Prince to offer to so poor a man as he was." He even lowered himself by declaring "that he felt the distinction intended him to be so great that he was bound to creep on his knees, to do his Majesty any service that might be required of him." Nevertheless, he could not be induced to gratify Henry either by delivering the young Queen into his hands, or by removing her from Linlithgow to Edinburgh Castle against her mother's will. Meantime the English ships had received

orders to search all French vessels suspected of sailing from Scotch ports, to prevent the escape of the royal infant. An engagement took place, in consequence, between the French and English fleet, off Lowestoft and Orfordness, it being suspected that the little Queen of Scotland and Cardinal Beton were on board one of the French ships. Many of the seamen were sorely hurt in this encounter, and great damage done to several of the vessels.[1]

Henry's jealous fears lest his intended prize should be removed out of his reach by the consent or contrivance of the Queen-mother — whom, in spite of all her flattering professions, he suspected to be the great obstacle to his design—exasperated him beyond the bounds of decency, and he issued his peremptory mandate that her tender infant should be instantly torn from her maternal care. The heart of a widowed mother alone can conceive the pangs of such a bereavement as that which the vindictive tyrant thus decreed to Mary of Lorraine. "Our pleasure is," he writes to Sir Ralph Sadler, "that, if this matter grow to such garboil and extremity as the young Queen shall be removed from Linlithgow, you shall do what you can, by all good means and persuasion, both with the Governor, the Earl of Angus, and Sir George Douglas, to get her removed to Tantallan; but whether that shall be granted or not, you shall travail that the *old* Queen [Mary of Lorraine, in her twenty-eighth year, is thus designated] may be secluded from her, and left at Linlithgow, or where it shall please her."[2]

But the days of chivalry were not over: the royal widow and orphan of Scotland found champions in the hour of their utmost need among the loyal portion of the nobles of that realm. Ten thousand brave men, led by two enamoured candidates for the hand of Mary of Lorraine, the Earls of Lennox and Bothwell, rivals, but united in the cause for her sake, accompanied by the Earls of Huntley, Argyll, and Home, Lord Lindsay of the Byres,

[1] Sadler's State Papers.

[2] Henry to Sir Ralph Sadler, July 22, 1543.

and other gentlemen, rode from Stirling on the 21st of July, dashed into Linlithgow, and performed the gallant enterprise of rescuing the distressed Queen and her royal infant from the peril that impended over them.[1] Mary of Lorraine had not quitted Linlithgow since she took her chamber there in the preceding autumn, during the life of her late lord, James V. He had been dead now more than seven months; and ever since she had, like a fond timorous bird, cowered in her nest with her precious little one, sole surviving relic of their union — not daring to take flight even for an hour, lest that dear object of her solicitude should be stolen away from her during her absence.

It must have been a stirring moment within the Dowager's palace when the first notes of the pibrochs of friendly clans were heard sounding through the long street of Linlithgow, as her deliverers pressed onward to the performance of their gallant enterprise. The guardian lake of those grey melancholy towers, surviving witnesses of all the varied passions of the scene, reflected in its crystal mirror the array of plumed and tartaned Highland chiefs, and Lowland nobles and knights gaily caparisoned, who drew bridle on its green margin that auspicious summer day, while the order of the Queen's departure was arranged. What thrilling interest must have pervaded all generous hearts when the royal widow, who had been so long secluded from the public eye, came forth in her mourning weeds, and presented her fatherless babe, their sovereign lady Queen Mary, to her loyal lieges, to receive the homage of their acclamations and blessings on her gentle head.

The personal care of the young Queen was confided to Lord Lindsay of the Byres,[2] before they commenced this memorable journey—royal etiquette, doubtless, requiring that separate processions should be formed for the Queen Dowager and the Queen Regnant, the latter being entitled to travel with the state of a sovereign. Lord Lindsay safely conveyed his precious charge to Stirling, and deli-

[1] Bishop Lesley's History of Scotland.
[2] Lives of the Lindsays, by Lord Lindsay.

vered her into the hands of Lord Erskine, the hereditary keeper of the royal fortress.

According to some accounts, the Governor had assembled his force at Edinburgh the self-same day, with intent to proceed to Linlithgow, force the palace, tear the infant Queen from her mother's arms, and carry her off to one of his own fortresses. When on the road, he was opposed by the reserved guard of the Earl's army, which impeded his march; and, at the same time, he was informed that the main body of their forces was already on the way to Linlithgow, and therefore a bloody conflict must be unavoidable if he persisted in advancing. The Governor not being fond of fighting, especially with the odds against him, halted, and summoned a council by advice of his noble followers. Delegates from both armies met at Kirkliston, a little town half-way between Linlithgow and Edinburgh, where it was agreed that neither the Governor nor the Cardinal should have the custody of their young sovereign lady, but she should be formally consigned to the keeping of the lords appointed for that purpose, and her abode fixed at Stirling, under her mother's watchful care. "Then," proceeds Lindsay of Pitscottie, "the Cardinal and the Governor skailed [that is to say, dismissed] their armies, met at Linlithgow, and were reconciled through the earnest entreaties of the Queen-mother, rested there that night; and the next day the young Queen was solemnly consigned to the care of Lord Lindsay of the Byres, Lords Livingstone, Erskine, and Graham, who safely escorted her, and the Queen her mother, to Stirling, where they all convened on the 20th of August, and crowned the young Queen."[1] The coronation, however, was solemnised, not on the 20th of August, but the 9th of September; and the reconciliation between the Cardinal and Governor was only cemented on the third of that month, whereas the enterprise of carrying off the two Queens from Linlithgow to Stirling was effected on the 22d of July.

Our lively chronicler makes out his story very agreeably,

[1] Lindsay of Pitscottie.

but with that mixture of truth and error which saves much trouble to a writer who dashes through all difficulties by putting leading facts together, without pausing to consider the discrepancies of dates. Thus, there can be no doubt as to the circumstance of the Governor being foiled in his project of seizing the little Queen by the *coup-de-main* of the other party; and that, when he had advanced as far as Kirkliston, he received intelligence that they were actually in the field before him, that he halted at Kirkliston, held a council of war, and decided on not venturing a battle. But it is certain that no meeting or reconciliation between him, the Cardinal, and the Queen-mother, took place on that occasion, as we may clearly gather from the subsequent conversations between her and Sir Ralph Sadler, who treats the removal of the royal infant to Stirling as an act of rebellion to the Governor's authority, and intimates that all concerned in it had rendered themselves amenable to punishment.[1] Moreover, the Earl of Lennox, in his letters to the King of France, claimed great merit for having, by his personal valour and resolution, delivered the two Queens from the thraldom in which they were kept at Linlithgow.[2] The Governor, so far from consenting, was in the position of a chess king who, expecting to secure his game next move, receives a rapid and unexpected checkmate by the conjunction of two knights, a queen, and a bishop.

The ceremonial of the reception of the two Queens within the gates of Stirling Castle might furnish a brilliant chapter in romance, a theme for poetry, or a subject for painting.

[1] Sadler's State Papers.
[2] Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 294. Lord Herries.

MARY OF LORRAINE

CHAPTER IV.

SUMMARY

Mary of Lorraine and her babe at Stirling—Her artful demeanour—Proud of the improved health and growth of the infant Queen—Henry VIII.'s pertinacious desire of stealing her away—Gossipping tales about the Queen-mother sent from the English court—She complains to Sadler—Cardinal Beton reconciles the Governor Arran to the Queen-mother—The young Queen crowned at Stirling—Queen-mother presides at the fêtes and the councils—Rivalry of the Earls of Lennox and Bothwell for her love—She encourages both—Will marry neither—Lennox retires from court—Queen-mother at Edinburgh—Assists at opening the parliament—Sits in council—Henry VIII. proclaims war—Mary of Lorraine's pedestrian pilgrimage—She prays for peace and concord—Her fondness for cards—Baseness of the lords of the English faction—English invade Scotland—Edinburgh burned—Breach between Mary of Lorraine and the Governor—Her partisans convene at Stirling and declare her Queen-regent of Scotland—The Governor and Cardinal Beton shut her out of Edinburgh—She proclaims the Earl of Angus her lieutenant-general—Rival parliaments held at Edinburgh and Stirling—Her authority put down—Hollow reconciliation with the Governor—Arrival of the French succours under de Lorge—De Lorge strikes Cardinal Beton in her presence—Complete estrangement between the Cardinal and Mary of Lorraine—Reconciliation of Queen-mother and Governor after the death of Beton—Renewed hostilities of the English—Queen-mother solicits aid from Henry II. of France—Scotch defeated at Pinkie—Queen-mother retreats to Stirling—Animates the Governor and nobles to resistance—Places the young Queen at Inchmahome—Returns to Stirling to meet convention of nobles—Suggests sending her daughter to France—Arrival of the French fleet and troops under the Sieur d'Essé—Queen-mother meets the parliament at Haddington—Marriage of her daughter with the Dauphin agreed on—Queen-mother goes to Dumbarton to take leave of her daughter—Her sagacious educationary plans for the young Queen—The parting scene at Dumbarton—Mary of Lorraine delivers the young Queen to the Sieur de Brézé and the French admiral.

MARY of Lorraine continued to play the same finessing game after her removal to Stirling, in regard to the marriage of the little Queen her daughter, as she had done while

at Linlithgow. It was, indeed, her characteristic never to come straight to the point on any important subject. Having been twice married, she had acquired sufficient experience of the combative dispositions of the lords of the creation to impress her with the conviction that, if a lady desires to have what is commonly called her own way, she must refrain from speaking her mind. Mary of Lorraine had so far conquered the almost irresistible propensity of a female tongue to this prevailing weakness, that she rarely expressed any wish that she did not intend to have opposed. Thus, when she found Cardinal Beton meant to take up his abode in Stirling Castle, with her and the little Queen, she pretended to be very desirous that he should do so, well knowing that the nobles of her party would not permit it; and so, by gracefully submitting to their objections, she obliged them, and, without provoking the malice of that revengeful and haughty statesman, avoided the inconvenient restraint of his presence, and remained sole mistress of her own palace, and in undisputed possession of the person of the infant sovereign. Aware that Henry VIII. was infuriated at the manner in which she had circumvented his cruel plots for the abduction of her child, by her sudden flight with her from the weakly-guarded palace of Linlithgow to her rocky eyrie at Stirling, and as it was no part of her policy to come to an open rupture with that Prince, she sent an obliging message to his representative, Sir Ralph Sadler, requesting him to pay her a visit—an invitation with which that astute statesman, though in a very sullen mood, thought proper to comply.[1]

The Queen Dowager opened the conference by assuring his excellency that "he should find her the same woman as when last he saw her, in her zeal and desire for promoting the marriage between the Prince's Grace and her daughter, which she was now in better hope of accomplishing, since the nobles of the realm had delivered her out of the Governor's power, and bestowed her in a good place, in the custody of such barons as were appointed by the Par-

[1] Sadler writes the particulars of this interview to Henry VIII. on the 10th of August.

liament. The said nobles had requested her to declare, that they were all desirous of complying with the treaties of peace and marriage lately passed with his Majesty; and, for her own part, as nothing could be more honourable both for her and her daughter than the alliance, she desired the perfection of it with all her heart, and was glad that his Majesty had wisely provided to have good pledges for the delivery of her daughter into England at the age of ten; and, in the mean season, she would so look to her surety, now that she was in so good a place and secure, that, with the grace of God, she should be in good plight to be delivered at the said time."[1]

When the royal widow had said all she pleased, Sadler drily returned, "that he was glad she professed herself to be in the same mind she had declared herself of at his first arrival in Scotland, and trusted that her deeds would make good her words; but much he marvelled that the noblemen she spoke of should have risen against their Governor, as they had done, which, but for his forbearance after their late deportment, might have been the cause of much bloodshed." "They had good cause for what they did," earnestly rejoined her Majesty, "for their quarrel was both for the surety and health of their sovereign lady and mistress, and also for the common weal of the realm; for the whole body of the realm had appointed, by Parliament, that my daughter should be kept in the realm by certain barons named for the purpose. The Governor would never permit the same to be put in execution, but held her in his own custody, and put such about her as him listed, in such wise that I and my daughter were holden as it were in a prison, whereof I many times complained, and could find no remedy; and ever, when I complained, they would bear me in hand that I minded to transport my daughter out of the realm; and this was one cause why the noblemen thus assembled with their power to relieve their Queen and mistress, and to put her in sure custody, such as was ordained and decreed by Parliament."[2]

[1] Sadler's State Papers.

[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 251.

It is certainly a curious fact to find Mary of Lorraine thus earnestly insisting on the rights of parliamentary legislation in regard to the infant Sovereign. This, at any rate, was taking strong ground of justification for the revolt of the party in whose hands she had thought proper to place herself and the young Queen. She objected also to the unconstitutional proceedings of the Governor, in regard to the treaty he had arranged with Henry, "wherein," she said, "he had been guided by the advice of private persons of his own choosing, instead of placing the matter before those who alone had authority from the nation to conclude matters of such high import; and that she could assure him that, whatever might have been settled by private counsellors, unless sanctioned by Parliament, was illegal, and would not be allowed by the people." Sadler entered into an elaborate argument for the purpose of throwing the blame on the Lords Fleming, Erskine, and others of her Majesty's most assured friends, whom he accused "of having some other purpose in their heads for their late insurrectionary movement." She laboured much to excuse them, and, when she found the subtle English diplomatist too shrewd for her, changed the subject by expressing her satisfaction at being at Stirling; and much she praised that royal residence, and its situation. Then she told Sadler "that her daughter did grow apace, and soon would be a woman, if she took after her mother;" "who, indeed," observes Sadler, by way of comment on this playful sally of the fair Dowager of Scotland, "is of the largest stature of woman."[1]

Towards the close of the conference, Mary of Lorraine

[1] Seven years prior to the date of this official report, Henry had been induced to seek Mary of Lorraine for his Queen, in consequence of the attractive description another of his ministers had given of her majestic height, and the graceful proportions of her figure; but Henry had changed his taste in female beauty since that Princess's obstinate rejection of his hand, as appeared by his subsequent choice of two of the smallest ladies of his court, Katharine Howard and Katharine Parr, for his fifth and sixth Queens. He was, at the time Sadler was writing this letter, the bridegroom of Katharine Parr, whom he had wedded on the twelfth of the preceding month.—See Lives of the Queens of England, vol. v.

caused the young Queen to be brought in, that Sadler might see how she had improved in growth and loveliness since his first introduction to her in her nursery presence-chamber at Linlithgow. She was now at a more attractive age, having completed her eighth month. Sadler, in his official report of this interview, bears, as before, due testimony to the beauty of the little Queen, assuring his Majesty "that she is as fair and goodly a child as any he has seen for her age." After some little time passed by him and the royal mother in beholding her, the former briefly recapitulated the substance of what she had previously said, and begged him to repeat the same to his master, which he promised to do, and took his leave.

Sadler was himself a father; but if Mary of Lorraine fondly imagined that the infantine loveliness of the innocent creature he was doing his utmost to injure would appeal to feelings of a parental character in her behalf, she strongly mistook the nature of the climbing statesman, whose heart the God of this world had hardened against all tender impulses, save those confined within the selfish sphere of his own domestic ties. On his return to Edinburgh he endeavoured to tempt the Governor, Arran, to betray the high trust reposed in him by the nation, urging him to accept King Henry's offer of the hand of the Princess Elizabeth of England for his eldest son, and proffering the assistance of English troops and English gold to make him king of all Scotland on the other side the Forth. Arran prudently replied "that the bringing in five thousand Englishmen would cause the defection of at least twenty thousand Scotchmen; and as to the honour intended for him by Henry, all his lands and living lay on this side the Forth, which he would not willingly exchange to be king of all that was beyond it."[1]

Sundry erroneous reports connected with Mary of Lorraine and her infant daughter were in circulation at this time in the diplomatic circles in England. There is something

[1] Abstracts from the Hamilton State Papers, printed by the Maitland Club, vol. iv. p. 78-9.

peculiarly dry in Sadler's observations on these sort of tales, when communicated to him by certain members of the English Privy Council as political intelligence. He moralises so forcibly and well on the practice of mixing truth and falsehood, that it is impossible not to regret that such sentiments did not proceed from an honourable man. "Amongst your said letters I have received the special advertisements which it liked you to send me, whereof I shall make the best inquiry I can. Part thereof hath some appearance of truth, and part I know to be untrue. But as I have sundry times written, it is hard to judge the end of those perplexed affairs till time reveal the same. For my part, I shall be as vigilant as I can. And though plainness and truth be ofttimes abused with subtilty and falsehood, yet in the end always truth triumpheth, when falsehood shall take reproach and bear the burden of the same."[1] Prophetic sentence, which, as regards the exposure of the political system of false witness—then becoming, from small beginnings, a powerful engine in the hands of the unconscientious writers of a party—is now progressively fulfilling.

The incorrectness of the Scotch court news, with which his noble correspondents had favoured him, is thus exposed by Sadler:—"It appeareth by your said letters 'that ye understand the young Queen should be very sick;' neither the Governor nor any man here knoweth thereof. Indeed, she was sick of the small-pox, but she is perfectly recovered of the same more than ten days past.[2] And also perceiving by your said letters that ye likewise understand 'that the said young Queen should be wholly under the government of the Cardinal and his accomplices, and under their strength, and that the Lords Livingstone and Lindsay, favouring the Governor, seeing they fear no stroke, would have come

[1] Sadler's Letter to Suffolk, Parr, and Durham, 17th August 1543. State Papers, vol. i. p. 263.

[2] Here Sadler's own intelligence was erroneous, some infantine eruptive fever which attacked the royal babe in the season of dentition having been mistaken for the small-pox. Her own letters to Queen Elizabeth certify that she had that malady subsequently in France. Witness, also, Buchanan's fulsome poetic compliments on her recovery unmarred in complexion.

away, and the old Queen stopped their baggage that they could not depart,' as your said letters do make mention. To say mine own opinion, I think surely that she (the baby Queen) is in such custody as the Cardinal and his accomplices may dispose of her at his pleasure. For the Dowager, [Mary of Lorraine,] the Earl of Montrose and the Lord Erskine be of that party, and the castle is the Dowager's, whereof also the said Erskine is constable and keeper, and hath the keys of all the posterns and back gates, so that, if they list to convey her thence, it cannot lie in the power of the Lords Livingstone and Lindsay to prevent it; wherefore, indeed, they might as well be away as there. But yet they neither desired to go thence, nor did the Dowager stop their baggage, as your said letters purport."[1]

Two days after this date, Sadler writes again to the same parties, commenting in the like sarcastic vein on the receipt of a fresh budget of gossip, called by them "a bill of news," which they had transmitted to him. "If the Cardinal and his complices," he says, "do mind or intend any such things as be comprised in the said bill, they keep no counsel of the same, for a man might have learned all these news in the Fish-Market here, with many more tending to the like purpose, at the least fourteen days ago." He then proceeds to inform them of the offence which the dissemination of the reports connected with the proceedings of Mary of Lorraine had given that Princess, who had made a serious complaint to him on that score, it should seem, for he says, "And at my last being with the Queen at Stirling, she found herself somewhat grieved with part of these bruits, both touching the marriage that (as was commonly spoken here) should be betwixt her daughter and the Earl of Argyll's son, and also the contention and strife betwixt the Earls of Lennox and Bothwell for her love. She told me 'she was little beholden to the people of this nation that raised such tales, to the slander of her and her daughter.' But I wrote nothing of those things, because

[1] Sadler's Letter to Suffolk, Parr, and Durham, 17th August 1543. State Papers, vol. i. p. 263.

the same was here in common bruit. And, if I should write all such tales as be common here in many mouths, and even in the market-place, I could every day fill your ears with a number of them." [1]

Events of the most contradictory kind now succeeded each other with strange rapidity. The Governor, without paying the slightest regard to the feelings of the Queen-mother, who, legally speaking, had no voice in the matter, proceeded to ratify the treaties of marriage and peace with England. This was done on the 25th of August 1543, in the abbey church of Holyrood, "at high mass solemnly sung on the occasion," as he informs his royal ally, "with shalms and sackbuts." [2] These we shrewdly suspect to have been a chorus of bagpipes, in the absence of the minstrels and musicians of the chapel-royal, who were in attendance on the Queen-mother and their little sovereign lady at Stirling.

The populace of Edinburgh not only refused to rejoice on this occasion, but manifested very dangerous symptoms of hostility against England, by assembling in a riotous manner in the evening and attacking Sir Ralph Sadler's lodgings, with the declared intention of burning him and his house together, instead of complying with the requisition for kindling bonfires on the Calton Hill and Arthur's Seat, according to the ancient custom, in sign and token of national joy. It was with difficulty that Sir Ralph escaped from this meditated outrage. Bitter were the expressions of popular indignation against the Governor, who was accused "of colouring a peace to their undoing, and of having sold their young Queen to the English." [3] Immediately afterwards came the news, that even while the abbey church of Holyrood was resounding with the *Te Deum* sung at the ratification of this unpopular treaty, Henry VIII. was breaking the previous truce by the aggressions which the English troops had commenced in Teviotdale; also that he had seized

[1] Sadler's State Papers, p. 265-6.
[2] Sadler's State Papers. Abstracts from the Hamilton State Papers, printed for the Maitland Club, vol. iv. p. 80.
[3] Ibid.

a rich fleet of Scotch merchant-ships which had taken refuge in one of his ports in stormy weather. The clamours of the people of Scotland now rose to such a pitch that the Governor, naturally timid and vacillating, abandoned for the present all dreams of self-aggrandisement by crooked means. He found himself placed between two fires —the ambition of his unprincipled English ally, who was exposing him to the hatred of all true Scots, on the one hand, and the powerful confederacy of the friends of Mary of Lorraine on the other. In this emergency he saw that his wisest plan would be to unite with those who were rallying for the rights of the infant Sovereign. There was no difficulty in doing this, for Cardinal Beton was his uncle. On the 3d of September he and the Cardinal met amicably at Callendar House, between Stirling and Linlithgow, the seat of Lord Livingstone. A sort of peace congress took place at Stirling, under the auspices of Mary of Lorraine,[1] whose deportment was always soft, and her policy, generally speaking, of a conciliatory character. Her personal influence over Lennox and Bothwell rendered those rivals civil to each other, and complaisant to their common foe, the Governor. Old grudges were forgiven, rival claims arbitrated, mutual concessions made; and the lately bellicose nobles, whether siding with the Governor or the Cardinal, came to the unanimous resolution of renewing their allegiance to their infant Queen in the most solemn manner, by crowning her in Stirling Cathedral on the ensuing Sunday. The Governor previously, in the presence of the Queen Dowager and her court, performed a solemn penance for the desecration of the Greyfriars' Church at Dundee, lately plundered by a party of his followers, received absolution from the Cardinal, abjured the doctrines of the Reformation, and was publicly reconciled to the Church of Rome,[2]—a political change of creed about as sincere as his previous professions of zeal for the simplicity of gospel faith.

[1] Sadler's State Papers. Abstracts from the Hamilton Papers, printed by the Maitland Club, vol. iv. Tytler.

[2] Hamilton State Papers. Maitland Miscellany, vol. iv.

Nevertheless, the protection which the really honest labourers in the cause of the Reformation enjoyed during the brief season of the Governor's pretended affection to that cause was productive of lasting good. Copies of the English translation of the Scriptures were not only permitted, but largely disseminated,[1] and they were received with joy. The light thus happily kindled could never again be hidden under a bushel, but served to diffuse the radiance of Christian knowledge through the length and breadth of the land. The poor had the gospel preached to them, and were ready to endure every fiery trial which the persecuting spirit of bigotry could inflict, in the ensuing struggle for religious freedom.

During the unwonted interval of concord which for a brief season united the courts of the Queen Dowager and the Governor at Stirling, the royal widow found it necessary to emerge from the lugubrious seclusion in which she had spent the first nine months after her second bereavement. It was considered a matter of political expediency to cheer the spirits of the people with something like a revival of the royal pageantry and public games which had animated the brilliant courts of the last two popular sovereigns, James IV. and James V. Mary of Lorraine, who was one of the loveliest and most fascinating princesses in Europe, and whose stately figure and graceful deportment qualified her to play her part with good effect on such occasions, presided at all the festivities that took place in honour of her daughter's coronation. In fact, she acted as the substitute of the infant Queen whenever the appearance of female royalty was required at receptions and ceremonials of state. There was no lack of funds for public amuse-

[1] Notice of this deeply interesting fact is contained in the following items in the Royal Compotus for 1543:—"March 21. Given to Mr Champenay, messenger, passing with letters to proclaim the act anent the having the New Testament in English in the West land, 40s.

"Item, March 28. Given to John Rob, messonger, passing to Dunfermline and Perth to proclaim two letters touching the having the Scriptures in English, 22s." Treasury Records, Register Office, Edinburgh. The diffusion of the Scriptures in English proved the means of refining the language of North Britain, and bringing it progressively to the national standard of purity, now general in both realms.

ments, a very handsome subsidy having been placed by a convocation of the clergy at Cardinal Beton's disposal,[1] who, besides being immensely rich himself, had the treasures of the church at his command; and for a while the gold of England was at discount, at least within the towers of merry Stirling.

It was the blithe month of September—every day was devoted to tilts, tourneys, running at the ring, feats of archery, and other chivalric exercises; the nights to dances and masks.[2] Business, however, was not neglected. A council was chosen from among the nobles and prelates who had assisted at the consecration of the infant Queen, and the Governor promised to be guided by their advice, with regard both to domestic legislation and foreign relations. "The Queen Dowager shall be reputed as the principal" of this council, says Sir Ralph Sadler. This was her earliest recognition by any party as a personage entitled to a voice in affairs of state: she now sat regularly in council with the Governor and this junta, apparently acting as an honorary Lady President, and occasionally as a moderator in preserving the peace between some of the bellicose members of the coalition—no easy task. Mary of Lorraine, perceiving the expediency of a general union being effected among the magnates of the realm, wrote to them all, adding her entreaties to the commands of the Governor for them to attend a convention which was to be holden either at Stirling or Edinburgh, for adjusting the present unhappy differences, and the restoration of domestic peace.[3] The names of the Earl of Angus, and several of the nobles of the English faction, had, from motives of a conciliatory policy, been included among the members of the Council of Regency. But these noblemen, being bound to Henry VIII's. interest, paid no attention to their own Sovereign, and refused to convene.

Meantime, conflicting passions and jealousies were fermenting within the courtly sphere of Mary of Lorraine's

[1] Lindsay of Pitscottie. Sadler. Buchanan. Tytler.
[2] Buchanan. [3] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 290.

personal influence, arising from the contention of the two rival candidates for her hand—Matthew, Earl of Lennox, and Patrick, Earl of Bothwell. Without intending to marry either, she had, for political purposes, granted that sort of encouragement to both which had inspired them with deceitful hopes. At first, they cheerfully united in any undertaking or enterprise that was likely to conduce to her service; then they began to strive which should make the most magnificent appearance in dress and equipage, in order to shine peerless in her eyes, whether in the presence-chamber, the council-room, or the lists. Daily they contended for the mastery in all the chivalric exercises of strength and skill, during the public fêtes which took place in honour of the coronation—especially vying with each other which might best acquit himself in the Queen's sight in dancing, leaping, and other games. On these occasions the victory generally fell to the Earl of Lennox—nature as well as education having qualified him to excel his rival in such feats; "for," says Lindsay of Pitscottie, "he was brought up in the wars of France, which learned him to exercise his pith to the utmost. He was a strong man withal, well-proportioned, with lusty [that is to say handsome] and manly visage, and carried himself erect and stately in his gait, wherefore he was very pleasant in the sight of gentlewomen. As for the Earl of Bothwell, he was fair and whitely, something hanging-shouldered, and went something forward, with gentle and humane countenance."[1]

Lennox, besides his manifest superiority in person and manners, was entitled to the precedency in rank, both as a prince of the blood-royal and as the accredited minister of France. He considered himself as the husband-elect of the Queen-mother; but Mary of Lorraine had no wish for a third consort—no intention to prejudice the interests of her daughter by entangling herself in a matrimonial connection with a vain, selfish, and ambitious young man, who was of a quarrelsome and vindictive temper. In compliance with

[1] Chronicles of Scotland, p. 422.

the Cardinal's advice, she had entertained him with fair words and a flattering show of regard, to induce him to coalesce with his hated foe the Earl of Arran, by assisting at the coronation; but when he demanded the reward of his compliances, she put him off under various pretences.[1] Lennox, perceiving at last that he had been made the dupe of the royal coquette, entered into correspondence with the English faction, in the hope of making advantageous terms by selling the secrets of the party he came to support. Before his practices in this way were discovered, he had caused so much annoyance by his animosity against the Governor, and his perpetual reproaches to the Cardinal and the Queen Dowager on their breach of faith, that they both wrote to the King of France, telling him "that their greatest desire was that he would be pleased to recall the Earl of Lennox, whom they found very troublesome, and likely to be a breeder of sedition in the realm." [2]

Before these complaints reached the French sovereign, the subsidy destined by Francis I. for the assistance of Mary of Lorraine and her friends fell into the hands of Lennox, and was detained by the slighted lover and appropriated to his own use, as pecuniary damages for the royal widow's breach of promise of marriage.

Lindsay of Pitscottie declares that the Earl of Bothwell, having materially injured his fortune by the extravagance into which he had launched during his ambitious love-chase, and being unable to support a continuance of the expense, retired from court, leaving his rival in possession of the field. Sir Ralph Sadler's reports of the proceedings of the Queen Dowager afford abundant evidence that it was Lennox who withdrew, and that within a few days after he had assisted at the coronation; while Bothwell remained in her service patiently abiding all her changes of countenance during many months after the desertion of Lennox, in the vain hope of touching her heart by his humble per-

[1] Chronicles of Scotland, p. 422.
[2] Lord Herries' History of Queen Mary, edited by Pitcairn.

severance and devotion to her will. Thus we find his name constantly included in the list of nobles who attended her to Edinburgh and St Andrews, and after her return to Stirling.[1] Lennox was absent meantime, intriguing with the other party; and before the end of September he is described in the act of sending love-letters to the Lady Margaret Douglas, the daughter of the Earl of Angus by Queen Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII., who was to be the bond of union between him and the English party.[2]

But to return to the progressive order of events. Mary of Lorraine proceeded to Edinburgh with the Governor, and all the lords of their party, leaving the infant Queen at Stirling carefully guarded from all unauthorised approach. This was the first separation that had ever taken place between the royal mother and her babe. "Yesterday, at three o'clock," writes Sir Ralph Sadler to his Sovereign, "the Queen Dowager of this realm, the Governor, the Cardinal, with the other lords of that party, sent for me."[3] The object of this conference, which took place Sept. 23, was to demand an explanation of King Henry's proceedings in seizing the Scotch merchant-ships in time of peace; to require their restoration; also, compensation for "divers *incurses*, burnings, and spulzies," made by his authorities on the Scottish borders since the ratification of the late treaty. Sadler attempted to defend these lawless proceedings of his Sovereign, on the plea that the ships were carrying victuals to France; and King Henry, being at war with that realm, regarded this as an act of hostility. Cardinal Beton, who was now acting as the Prime Minister of the Governor Arran, gives us, in his reply, a curious insight into the statistics of Scotland, proving that the great sources of wealth, employment, and commerce at that period were the fisheries. "The ships," he

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 300. Sadler to Henry VIII., Sept. 24. Ibid. to my Lords Suffolk and Durham, Sept. 9, p. 309.

[2] See the Life of Margaret, Countess of Lennox, in this volume, for the details of that courtship and marriage.

[3] State Papers, vol. i. p. 300.

said, "had no other lading than fish, which was their common merchandise being exchanged in France for other commodities; and the merchants with whom they trafficked were accustomed to transport the Scotch fish to other countries more inland; and these relations, being for their general benefit, could not be discontinued, neither ought they to give offence to England." Thus are we put in possession of the principal reason wherefore the alliance with France was always so dear to Scotland, France being the great fish mart of a country whose lakes, streams, and inland seas teem with inexhaustible produce for a supply that was necessarily in constant demand at a period when fish diet, on days of frequent recurrence, was an obligatory duty enjoined by the Latin Church. Sadler, on being pressed for the restitution of the ships seized by his master, demanded the hostages for the performance of the marriage treaty, and was told that the conditions were already violated by King Henry.

Four days after this conference, Mary of Lorraine left Edinburgh, and, accompanied by the Governor and their respective trains, went by water to St Andrews, where she was lodged in the castle, and entertained by Cardinal Beton for several days. The Earl of Bothwell was in close attendance, making of course the utmost of the advantages to be derived from the absence of his handsome rival Lennox, and his defection to the English party.[1] The royal widow returned to Stirling to receive the French ambassador, La Brosse, and the pope's legate, Grimani. The first came to cheer her with promises of support from her adopted father, Francis I.; the second, in evil hour for all who listened to him, to inculcate the necessity of crushing the rapidly increasing principles of the Reformed faith by persecution. It is unnecessary to enter into the painful facts connected with this subject, inasmuch as they are very fully detailed in the ecclesiastical histories of the period, and belong not to the personal annals of Mary of Lorraine, who, though attached to the doctrines and practice of the Papal church, was at

[1] Sadler's State Papers.

that time distinguished for the liberality of her conduct, and the protection she occasionally was able to extend towards the proscribed preachers of the gospel.[1]

One of the ostensible objects of the legate's mission to Scotland was to redress clerical disorders; but, on the occasion of his solemn reception in Glasgow Cathedral, a pitched battle took place betwixt Cardinal Beton and the Archbishop of Glasgow for precedency, the latter refusing to allow the Cardinal's cross to be borne before his in that cathedral where he claimed the pre-eminence. Both the crosses were broken in the fray, and several of their servants and gentlemen hurt; nor could the dispute be settled without lay interference. If the legate had not been blind to the signs of the times, he would have seen that any church in which such disgraceful scenes could be tolerated was self-doomed, and appointed to be swept with the besom of destruction.[2]

Mary of Lorraine honourably entertained the legate both at Stirling and Edinburgh; he also received much hospitality from the Governor and the principal nobles of the realm. The Earl of Moray, who had invited him to a banquet at his house, determined to astonish him with a practical illustration of the wealth of a Scotch subject, and the perfection to which the artisans of Scotland had attained in a manufacture then esteemed a most costly part of domestic luxury, almost confined to Italy. Although the Earl had great store of silver plate, yet, for the greater magnificence, he set forth a cupboard furnished with all sorts of glasses of the finest crystal that could be made; and to convince the legate that there was no lack of this precious commodity in Scotland, he caused one of his servants, as if by accident, to pull down the cupboard-cloth, so that the whole of this splendid display of cut-glass was thrown down and broken, whereat the legate expressed great concern. But the loss was instantly supplied by the entrance of another cupboard, furnished with a still finer array of crystal vessels, which caused the legate to praise both the

[1] Robertson. Keith.
[2] Lesley's History of Scotland. Diurnal of Occurrents.

magnificence of the Earl and the fineness of the crystal, affirming "that he had never seen better, even in Venice, where he was born."[1]

As a specimen of the absurd reports that were in circulation, touching the matrimonial affairs of Mary of Lorraine, and her infant daughter of eleven months old, Sadler writes to two of his English diplomatic correspondents:—

"It is said that the Cardinal hath devised to divorce the Governor from his wife, to the intent to make a marriage between him and the Dowager, and then also to make a contract betwixt the young Queen and the Earl of Lennox, who shall be made lieutenant-general of Scotland, and use the authority; and the Governor shall bear only the name of that office, and have a yearly stipend for the same, and so they shall be friends, and join together in one party with France against England. Such sayings I hear, but whether they be true or not, I cannot tell; but sure I am that the Cardinal and the Dowager would gladly make the said Governor and Lennox friends."[2] Mary of Lorraine certainly took infinite pains to lure her offended lover back to his allegiance. Once he was induced to meet her at Stirling, in the presence of the French ambassador, La Brosse, threw himself at her feet, and made deceitful protestations of his devotion to her cause.[2] He even signed a bond, promising to refund the money of which he had fraudulently possessed himself.[3] He violated this pledge, as he had done all his other engagements; and instead of returning the money where it was rightfully due, he employed it in raising a numerous army for the purpose of plunging his country into the horrors of civil war—allying himself, now openly, with the English faction.

The Queen-mother had the satisfaction of seeing the people at large earnestly advocating the cause of their infant Sovereign, her daughter. Indeed, the indignation

[1] Lesley's History of Scotland, 179.
[2] Letter to Suffolk and Durham.
[3] Encyclopædia Britannica—art. Scotland.

of the citizens of Edinburgh had been so greatly excited by the seizure of their merchant fleet, and Henry's aggressions in the frontier counties, that Sir Ralph Sadler, finding his quarters there too hot to please him, fled to Tantallan, in order to take refuge with his confederate, the Earl of Angus. The unwillingness of that nobleman to commit himself, by affording the intriguing ambassador anything like a hospitable reception, is apparent from the complaining tone of Sadler's letters, which afford melancholy pictures of the country, broken up by civil discord and threatened with foreign invasion. He speaks with bitter spite of the honest citizens of Edinburgh, and "the beastly liberty they enjoyed." He calls the manly peasantry "a malicious people;" and declares "he had rather be among the Turks." He frets at the want of accommodation in the ruinous fortress of Tantallan, which had been stripped of all its furniture. Moreover, the Earl of Angus, with his usual selfishness, had avoided the inconvenience of playing the host to his English friend, by taking up his abode with his young Countess at another of his houses, letting Sadler know "that he could not receive him there, as it was in such a state of dilapidation that he had scant one chamber for himself and my lady his wife." The Lords of Cassillis and Glencairn, and the rest of that party, were provided with similar excuses; so that the fugitive ambassador, in his distress for lodgings, appeared very much in the case of "the hare with many friends." All gave him fair words—none were willing to incur the slightest danger or inconvenience for his sake. They acted according to the feeling of self-interest, which had induced them to defile their hands with the bribes of England. King Henry had been for some time complaining in his letters to Suffolk of the slackness of his pensioners, the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas, in the performance of their promises to him. "They have not sticked," says he, "to take upon them to set the crown of Scotland upon our head. What has now become of all their force and courage?" The sum of fifteen hundred pounds was delivered by his order to the Earl of Angus, on the 17th of

the same month.[1] Evidences of these practices having fallen into the Governor's hands, he convened a Parliament on the 3d of December, for the purpose of bringing the confederates under the penalties of high treason. They assembled their forces for defence, but finally succumbed, and engaged to unite with the Governor in defence of the realm against England.[2] Their fidelity was soon to be tested, for stirring times were approaching. The Parliament, on the eighth day of sitting, proceeded to the revocation of the matrimonial treaty with England, declaring the contract between their sovereign lady and the Prince of England to be null and void. The proposal for renewing the ancient alliance with France was received with enthusiasm by the same assembly. Henry VIII. answered these acts by sending his herald, Harry Ray, to Edinburgh, to deliver his defiance in due form by a proclamation of war between the realms of England and Scotland.[3]

The self-same day this hostile ceremonial was performed, Mary of Lorraine set forth on a pedestrian pilgrimage to a much-frequented shrine of the Virgin Mary at Musselburgh, apparently a Scotch chapel of ease to that at Loretto, to implore her assistance for the restoration of pacific relations with England, and a sincere reconciliation among the nobles of Scotland, so that, setting aside private feuds and jealousies, they might effectually unite for the defence of the realm. This incident is thus quaintly recorded by a contemporary chronicle of the daily events of that period, in the orthography of the times: "The Quenis grace *Drowarie* [Dowager] past on her *fute* [on foot] to our Lady *Lauriet*, praying for peace amang her Lordis and with the realm of England, and remainit thair xx days in her prayeris."[4]

Picturesque as the circumstance of a widowed Queen-mother in her beauty and distress changing her royal robes for pilgrim's weeds, to make tearful supplication for the peace of her daughter's realm, might be, and amiable as

[1] Hamilton State Papers.
[2] Tytler's History of Scotland.
[3] Diurnal of Occurrents.
[4] Ibid.

was the object, her devotion was misdirected; and her prayers, having been addressed through another medium than the one Divine intercessor appointed between God and man, were unavailing, and remained unanswered.

Pilgrimages, like many of the spiritual pastimes of the Middle Ages, had had their date, and, in common with all exploded fashions, had become displeasing to national taste. The recent exposure of the frauds practised at the far-famed shrines of Thomas-à-Becket at Canterbury, and the Lady of Walsingham, in England, had produced a general feeling of disgust against such practices in the sister realm; but Mary of Lorraine, surrounded as she was by the ultra-supporters of the ornate system of the Romish Church, clung with childlike affection to the romantic ideas of her early days.

She did not spend quite so many days in her devotions at the shrine of the Musselburgh Lady of Loretto as the chronicler of her pilgrimage states; for we find by the following item in the Royal Compotus that she spent her Christmas festival in Stirling, and, instead of being occupied in prayer, was recreating herself with her favourite amusement—cards. "Yule—Delivered to my Lord-governor, to play at the carddis in Stirling with the Queen's Grace, in ane hundred crowns of the sun, I. C. xli [£10 10s."] One of the most mischievous moral mistakes of the Middle Ages was, that their influential writers had not the least idea that gaming was a dangerous and criminal amusement. So far from that, all the authors and biographers of that brilliant period called the *Renaissance*—or renewal of the arts and classical learning—are sure to quote, among the fine qualities of their heroes and heroines, skill in cards and dice.

Large sums occur in the Royal Compotus of Scotland as advanced for the Queen's Grace, and the Lord-governor's Grace, to play "at the carddis." These advances are certainly more serious on the part of Arran; but they are always heavier and more frequent when any French visitors are at the court of Scotland.

No observer can study this mute testimonial to the habits and characters of those who ruled Scotland in the sixteenth century, without imputing to them the vice of being addicted to high play occasionally.

The opening of the year 1544 beheld Scotland at once a prey to civil discord and threatened with a personal invasion from Henry VIII., who flattered himself, from the list of titled traitors in his pay, that he had only to send a fleet into the Firth, and to cross the Border at the head of an army of fourteen thousand men, to effect the subjugation of that realm. The Duke of Suffolk, his lieutenant on the Border, to whom he signified his intention, well aware that Scots in general were of a different spirit from those on whose co-operation Henry relied for support, wrote to warn him that he would at once destroy his own game by compelling his pensioners to throw off the mask of patriotism, by arming to assist a foreign prince in carrying devastation into the bosom of their native land. "I think," pursues Suffolk with manly plainness, "all Scotland will say, 'What false traitors are these, or unhappy men are these, that will take the King of England's part, or think that the King of England intended any good to the young Queen, his niece, or to the realm of Scotland, but only the destruction of the same!'—by reason whereof, after Edinburgh be burned, your Highness shall have nothing in Scotland but conquest by the sword."[1] Suffolk, for his honest remonstrance, was recalled, and superseded in his command by the Earl of Hertford, a man who scrupled not to become the executioner of the sanguinary decrees issued by Henry and his Privy Council against hapless Scotland. That such decrees should have emanated from a monster without one redeeming trait of human feeling, like the fell Tudor despot, may be credited, though exceeding in cruelty anything recorded of Pharaoh; but that a section of the

[1] Extracts from the Hamilton Papers, published in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv. p. 90–1. The same volume contains a minute of the sums disbursed by Suffolk to Henry's titled Scotch pensioners in December 1543.

nobles of Scotland should have been found allied with the foreign tyrant, whose object was to inflict those woes on their native country, is almost too revolting for belief, yet not more revolting than true.[1] The order in council despatched in Henry's name to Hertford, dated April 10, 1544, informs him that the grand attack on Scotland was delayed for a season, but that he was, in the mean time, to inflict all the miseries he could upon that country—"to put all to fire and sword, to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it" when he should have sacked and gotten all he could of it. "Do what you can," continues this precious mandate, "to beat down and overthrow the Castle; sack Holyrood House, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as you conveniently can. Sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you. And this done, pass over to the Fife land, and extend like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages whereunto you may reach conveniently; not forgetting, among the rest, to so spoil and turn upside down the Cardinal's town of St Andrews, as the upper stone may be the nether, and not one stick stand by another—sparing no creature alive within the same, especially such as either in friendship or blood be allied to the Cardinal." Bound with golden fetters to the promulgator and executioners of these atrocious orders were the leaders of that party subsequently held up to national credulity for idol-worship.

The specious plea urged by the eulogists of the Lords of the Congregation—the name under which these men and their sons subsequently figured—that the interests of religion sanctified the bribes of England, and even justified a parricidal union with the pitiless desolaters of their native country, must indeed appear hypocritical, when it is remembered that Henry VIII. was the promulgator of the "bloody Six Articles," and that Smithfield was reeking with

[1] Abstracts from the Hamilton State Papers.

the smoke of the penal flames to which he had consigned hecatombs of Protestant martyrs for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. What sympathy, what support for the "true evangile of Christ," what liberty of conscience, could be expected from the ruthless bigot who had authorised the tortures and fiery death of Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs?—crimes of which these men could not be ignorant, being of such recent date as the 16th of July 1543. Facts speak for themselves; professions are but words easily committed to paper. The peers who were art and part with Henry and his accomplices in the miseries which his barbarous decrees inflicted on Scotland, must have been men as devoid of religion as they were of honour. They took advantage of the distracted state of their native country, and the infancy of their Sovereign, to advance their selfish interests. Men they were with "itching palms" and false tongues, well deserving of the contempt with which their English master's agents branded them.[1]

The landing of the English, though so long threatened, was, after all, a surprise, and found the country unprepared for effectual resistance, Cardinal Beton having declared "that he would put all the men of war that entered into his eye."[2] Edinburgh was manfully defended by her brave citizens for three days, though fired in several quarters, but was taken by assault on the 6th of May, plundered, and laid in ashes in the course of the two following days. The Abbey and Palace of Holyrood were sacked, and a considerable portion of the buildings destroyed; Leith, Granton, and all the adjoining towns, villages, and dwellings on both sides the Forth, were plundered and burned; thousands of families were rendered homeless, and deprived not only of their property and livelihood, but of the means of procuring a morsel of food.[3] Happy in comparison were those who perished by the edge of the sword, or fell a prey to the devouring flames, for

[1] See Sadler's State Papers, and Suffolk's Letters to Henry VIII.
[2] Knox's History of the Reformation.
[3] Journal of the Earl of Hertford's Proceedings—Maitland Miscellany.

they escaped the tortures of famine, and the complicated miseries which befell the houseless victims of the invaders' cruelty. Knox approvingly sums up the concluding items of their deeds in the metropolis of his native land in these words: "When in the most part of the day they had spoiled and burned, towards the night they returned to Leith, and upon the morrow returned to Edinburgh and executed the rest of God's judgments for that time; and so, when they had consumed both towns, they laded the ships with the spoils thereof, and they by land returned to Berwick, using the country for the most part at their own pleasure. This was a part of the punishment which God took upon the realm for infidelity of the Governor, and for the violation of his solemn oath,"[1]—meaning the revocation of the treaty which Henry had himself violated, by the seizure of the Scotch merchant-ships, before it was ratified. The humane heart of Dr Hooper, subsequently one of the most illustrious martyrs of our Reformed Church in England, was appalled at the barbarities perpetrated by the orders of Henry VIII. in Scotland. He writes to his friend Bullinger on the subject in a spirit so different from the exulting tone in which Knox records the miseries inflicted on his country by the Tudor tyrant, that we cannot refrain from quoting the passage, especially as it contains mention of Mary of Lorraine, though the report to which he alludes was one of the unfounded rumours in circulation on the Continent: "The state of affairs between the English and Scotch is still very doubtful and uncertain; the English, however, have sacked their principal cities and villages. I shudder to mention the devastation of the country which was effected last summer by the Earl of Hertford. The Queen of Scotland, together with Cardinal Beton, is in concealment in the mountains, where they possess fortresses beyond the reach of attack. Edinburgh was abandoned to pillage, and then set on fire."[2] According to some of the Scotch historians, the newly-raised tomb of James V. was broken and defaced. Our limits permit

[1] History of the Reformation. Edited by D. Laing, Esq., vol. i. p. 122.
[2] Zurich Letters. Published by the Parker Society.

us not to enter into even a brief detail of the atrocities committed by the Earl of Hertford, and other of Henry's executioners: a few of their exploits are recorded in their reports to their ruthless sovereign.[1]

The Earls of Angus and Glencairn, with Sir George Douglas, who had been captured by the Governor in the preceding insurrectionary movement at Glasgow, and were lodged by him in his castle at Blackness, as hostages for the good behaviour of their followers and friends, were now released, and exhorted to unite with all true Scots for the defence of the realm. "I thank King Henry, and my gentle masters of England," was the patriotic comment of Sir George Douglas on his emancipation.[2] He privately betook himself to Leith, and gave advice and information to the Earl of Hertford, as an accomplice in his hostility to Scotland. The flames of Edinburgh, Haddington, Dunbar, and several hundred villages in the desolated Lothians — the death-moans of the starving women and children — had appealed to these men for vengeance on the invading armies of "their gentle master of England" in vain. But King Henry's attempt to parcel out the Douglas lands as the reward of English conquerors—Sir Ralph Evers and Sir Brian Latoun—in the Merse and Teviotdale, roused the Douglas blood, and the Earl of Angus indignantly exclaimed—"Albeit the King of England would come himself in proper person, he should not, without strife, get a seizing of these lands which my fathers and forbears have conquered and defended these many years bygone; and we were evermore wont to do the Englishmen two evil turns for one."[3]

There had long been an estrangement between the Queen Dowager and the Governor; she had also withdrawn her confidence from Cardinal Beton, who was at this time the principal friend and adviser of his nephew the Governor.

[1] See Haynes State Papers, 43-52; and Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. i. p. 4, 5. Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 31-2-3. Tytler. Keith.

[2] Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 120.

[3] Lindsay of Pitscottie.

These two had wasted their time and energies, and incurred the indignation of all good Christians, by their barbarous persecutions of the Reformers, and, while thus occupied, had allowed the country to be surprised by the English invasion. Instead of doing anything for the defence of Edinburgh, they exhibited the most contemptible recklessness for every consideration but their own personal safety. In all these mistakes they had acted in direct opposition to the advice and entreaties of the Queen-mother, whose maternal devotion, prudence, and conciliatory conduct to all parties, had acquired the respect and affection of the people; while the imbecility and cowardice of the Governor, and the bigotry of the Cardinal, were execrated by every tongue.

"The Queen Dowager," says Buchanan, "received into her protection that Scottish faction which, by the departure of Lennox, was left without a head, yet obstinately refused to submit to the authority of the Governor Arran, whose severity they knew before, and whose vengeance they now dreaded, for she apprehended that they might, if driven to desperation, engage in some new commotion."[1] The explanation of this somewhat mysterious passage is, that many of the Scotch nobles who had supported Lennox in his claims to the regency, in opposition to the Hamilton party, would not abet him in his treasonable correspondence with Henry VIII.; and therefore he, finding himself unsupported, had no other resource than to retire to England. The unworthiness of Lennox had not removed the objections of his partisans to the government of his enemy the Earl of Arran, who, having been much provoked by their late revolt from his authority, was disposed to bring them under the pains and penalties of high treason; but Mary of Lorraine exerted her influence to preserve them from the sentence of outlawry, and the forfeiture of their estates. Her conciliatory policy prevented them from banding themselves with the English, and so endeared her to their affections that they united with a considerable section—almost a

[1] History of Scotland.

third of the aristocracy of Scotland—in asserting that the reins of government would be much more appropriately placed in her hands than in those of the feeble-minded vacillating Earl of Arran; but this revolution appearing difficult to effect, they took a middle course, by proposing to associate her with him as a partner in the regency, for the better and more vigorous government of the realm. This project was first moved in the general assembly of the nobles that was convened at Stirling on the 3d of June 1544. After three days had been occupied in arguing the matter, a majority of the lords declared in favour of the same; and on the 6th of June requested the Governor, in the presence of the Queen Dowager, to consent to this arrangement, both for his own weal, and that of his sovereign lady the Queen, and for the weal of the whole realm; and specially, "because the Queen's Grace, our sovereign lady's mother, is a noble lady of high lineage and blood, of great wisdom, and holy of life, having the King of France and the greatest nobles of that realm, and others, about her, tender kinsmen and friends, who will be the more ready to support her in the defence of this realm of Scotland if her Grace be well favoured and honoured by the nobles thereof, and held in honour and dignity by all estates; also because the whole of the nobles have that special confidence in her Grace that they be all willing to convene in any place where she is present."[1] The Governor was so completely taken by surprise at this declaration that he remained speechless for a while, and then requested time to prepare his answer; but, instead of replying, he stole away to Edinburgh. Letters were issued in the name of the infant Queen, summoning him to appear—June 10th—at the Greyfriars in Stirling, which was the place where the deliberations were carried on. But as he neither appeared nor sent any message, these nobles passed a vote for deposing him from his office, and constituting Mary of Lorraine Queen-Regent, to govern the

[1] State Papers—MS. copy of Agreement of the principal Scots nobility to support the authority of the Queen-mother as Regent of Scotland. Tytler's Appendix, vol. v.

realm of Scotland during the minority of her royal daughter. A solemn bond of association to support her authority, by their counsels and arms, was signed by four prelates and one-and-twenty nobles, among whom the names of several of the peers who afterwards figured as leading members of the Congregation stand forth conspicuous. But that of Cardinal Beton does not appear: he clave to his kinsman the Earl of Arran, and, by his adroit management, enabled him to weather the storm, and maintain his office against the fair rival who had made so bold an attempt to supplant him.[1]

A proclamation denouncing the Queen Dowager's assumption of the title of Regent of Scotland as illegal, and prohibiting all persons from rendering obedience to her, was immediately issued by the Earl of Arran. The following coincident entry connected with these proceedings appears in the Treasury Records of Scotland:—"Item, xxii day of June, delivered to James Lindsay, messenger, letters direct to Stirling, discharging the Queen of her authority."[2]

The Queen intended "to be discharged of her authority" was not the infant Sovereign, but the Dowager Queen, and affords a curious verification of this obscure passage of history. The following incidents will show that it was a political crisis attended with no common feelings of excitement. A Parliament was summoned in the name of the newly constituted Queen-Regent to assemble among the ruins of Edinburgh, July 31; but the Earl of Arran, who was determined not to submit to his deposition, summoned his friends, and by the advice of his minister, Cardinal Beton, occupied that place with a military force—his kinsman, Hamilton of Stenhouse, still holding the castle he had so manfully defended against the English. Mary of Lorraine, attended by a numerous well-armed retinue, left Stirling for the purpose of opening the Parliament that was to have confirmed her in her new authority; but, finding how matters stood, she retraced her steps to avoid the

[1] Tytler's Appendix, vol. v.
[2] Royal Compotus, kept by Kirkaldy of Grange.

effusion of blood that would doubtless have taken place under such circumstances.[1]

Scotland had now, in addition to all her other troubles, two rival regents, male and female, issuing contradictory proclamations, and legislating at cross purposes, so that the commons knew not whose orders to obey. Great confusion in history may be traced to this cause, as it is even more difficult for readers, unless deeply imbued with documentary lore, to discriminate between the deeds of the Lord-Regent and the Lady-Regent. One thing is however rendered clear by the certainty of their disunion—that Mary of Lorraine, in her queenly court at Stirling, occupied with those sweet cares of maternity which soften, above all other occupations, the heart of woman, studying the interests of her babe by playing the popular with the people, and winning golden opinions of the preachers of "the true evangile," had nothing to do with the insane persecutions, drownings, burnings, and butcheries, practised by the Lord-Regent Arran and his uncle the Cardinal at Perth, no more than the anti-Pope of the fourteenth century was answerable for the acts of the Pope who had been legally invested with the authority of the Roman see.

Mary of Lorraine appointed the Earl of Angus her military commander-in-chief, under the title of Lieutenant-general of Scotland. His wily brother, Sir George Douglas, appears to have supplied the place of her former political adviser, Cardinal Beton. She spent the summer with her royal infant at Stirling. Robert Scott of Wamfray, one of the spies of England, writes in August to Lord Wharton, the English warden: "Ye sall understand that the Governor keeps the town of Edinburgh still, and the Queen comes not forth of Stirling as yet."[2] In October she made a progress to Jedburgh. The Earl of Angus met her there, and they remained eight days there together, devising as best they might for the reparation of the mischief caused by the English in that district, and for the

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents. Tytler. State Paper MSS.
[2] Illustrations of the Reign of Mary—Maitland Miscellany, vol. i. p. 7.

defence of the realm. On the 27th of that month, Lord Wharton writes to the Earl of Shrewsbury that Angus gave Richie Grame a list of certain noblemen and gentlemen who had promised to be of the Dowager's party against the Governor. "Richie Grame sheweth me, also," continues he, "that 'on Wednesday last there was a meeting between the Earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassillis, and the Sheriff of Ayr, all which then agreed to stand with the *Dowgier* against the Governor.' He sayeth, farther, 'that the Governor intendeth to hold a Parliament, which shall begin the 12th day of November; and in like manner, the Dowgier, with those noblemen promised unto her, intendeth to keep a Parliament at Stirling eight days after the others.' The Governor lieth at Edinburgh, and George Douglas at Dalkeith: there be many arguments of displeasure between them."

Mary of Lorraine, under the style and title of Queen-Regent, issued her proclamation for the Parliament to meet at Stirling on the 12th of November, and summoned the Governor to appear before that assembly. The Governor's Parliament met at the same time in Edinburgh, and on the seventh day of sitting passed an act "declaring the pretended Parliament at Stirling to be null and void, and of none avail, force, or effect, and prohibited any persons from concurring with it under pain of treason."[1] On the morrow a deputation of the nobles of his party was sent to Stirling by the Governor, to notify to the Queen-mother and the lords with her the decree of the Parliament sitting in Edinburgh, and to endeavour to bring about an accommodation; and, if not, to declare the resolution of that body to stand by the Governor, and to defend him in his authority to the utmost of their power.

The confusion which thus agitated Scotland may be imagined, Henry VIII. having taken advantage of these conflicting passions to appoint his creature, the Earl of Lennox, as Governor, who was not without his supporters. Thus there were three rival regents in Scotland, each at the

[1] Records of the Scotch Parliament, cited by Keith, p. 48.

head of a separate faction. The necessity of uniting their strength for the defence of the realm against the common enemy produced a political coalition between the Queen Dowager and the Governor, and their respective parties. A pacific arrangement for this purpose was at length effected by Cardinal Beton. Great pains, it seems, were taken by the Cardinal to arrange this accommodation: after much negotiation with the Queen, "he brought the Governor to Stirling, and reconciled him to her Grace with ane good agreement." The date of this amicable meeting is indicated by the following entry in the Royal Compotus, which, though ostensibly an account-book of the privy-purse expenses of the Sovereign, was at this time filled with those of the Governor:—"Item—November 24—to the Queen's minstrels at Stirling, 24s."

This was evidently the largess bestowed by the Governor on the royal band, for playing in honour of his visit to the Queen-mother. Mary of Lorraine took as much delight in music as her late consort James V. had done, and kept up a fine band and a choir of vocalists, among whom there were five Italians. Each of these enjoyed a salary of £13 per annum, and a livery of red and yellow Bruges satin, and red bonnets. She maintained in her own, or rather her daughter's court, at Stirling, four players on the viols, four trumpeters, and two tabourners. Anton, a Frenchman, was the master of the band. The Governor, Arran, was also in a small way a patron of musical talent, as a proof of which we have the following:—"Item, to Todd the minstrel, who remained within the castle of Edinburgh, and played upon his swesche (Swiss drum) all the time of the siege, two angel nobles, value £3, 8s.;" that is, about three French crowns, which then were rated at the same value as an English mark—6s. 8d. A suitable guerdon was also bestowed on "three minstrels, fiddlers, who played before his Grace's host at Kelso."[1] There is something irresistibly ludicrous in the idea of martial deeds being inspired by the quavering and scraping of three fiddlers.

[1] Royal Compotus for the year 1544—Register Office, Edinburgh.

To return to graver subjects, Mary of Lorraine insisted that her appointment of the Earl of Angus to the office of Lieutenant-general should be confirmed. The vigorous measures which had been commenced through her influence for the expulsion of the English were actively continued. The atrocious cruelties committed by the two English commanders, Sir Ralph Evers and Sir Brian Latoun, animated every manly heart in Scotland with indignation and a desire of vengeance. Among their other doings, these ferocious chiefs had burned no less than two hundred and fifty villages, all the mills in the district, and the tower of Broomhouse, with the venerable lady and her household within it. They had also performed a gratuitous work of destruction at Melrose Abbey, by overthrowing the monuments, and defacing, as far as they could, that glorious pile. The spirit of the people was so completely roused by these outrages that a battle no less worthy of remembrance than that of Bannockburn was fought on the 27th of February 1545, at Ancrum Moor, where the Earl of Angus and Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, with a handful of brave men, defeated the English army, whose numbers were five to one, and slew both their leaders.[1] This victory deprived Henry of all his previous conquests; for the inhabitants of the Border counties, who had been compelled to put on the red cross in token of their submission to England, flung off that hated badge, and proclaimed their allegiance to their native Sovereign. When the news reached the Tudor tyrant that his two generals were slain, and all the lands they had conquered in Scotland were redeemed by their rightful owners in one hour, and that eighteen hundred of his choice troops were killed or taken prisoners, and only two Scots slain, "he burnt like fire," says the quaint Scotch chronicler, Lindsay of Pitscottie, "and was so boiling with rage that for a long time no man durst speak to him." The part taken by his former confederate, the Earl of Angus, might well have surprised Henry into the exclamation, "Is

[1] See Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicle, p. 440-45, and Tytler's History of Scotland, for particulars of this battle.

Saul among the prophets!" for never before had a patriotic impulse animated the bosom of the chief who had led the true men of Scotland to victory that day. All the former sins of the Earl against his country were blotted out by his gallantry at Ancrum Moor, and he became the popular idol of the hour. The Governor clasped him in his arms, called him the saviour of his country, and hastened with him to Stirling to communicate the good tidings to the Queen Dowager. She received the news of the victory with transports of joy, and lavished the most enthusiastic commendations on the victor.[1] It was observed that she studied by every means in her power to indicate her preference of Angus to Cardinal Beton, there being at that time a deadly and increasing feud between them. Through her recommendation, the King of France honoured Angus by making him a knight-companion of his order of St Michael, as a tribute to his valour, and the good service he had rendered the Queen her daughter and her realm at Ancrum Moor. Her gratitude would have been less ardent if she had known that in the course of a few weeks Angus sullied his martial glory, and forfeited all real claims to patriotism, by entering once more into a treasonable correspondence with Henry VIII., being seduced into this meanness by his wily brother, Sir George Douglas, who was rendering Henry all the aid he could in his preparations for a fresh invasion.

Succours from France however arrived, under the command of M. de Lorge Montgomery, who brought five thousand men to assist in carrying on the war with England. This gentleman, who was a personal friend of the Earl of Lennox, was commissioned by Francis I. to investigate the reasons of his alienation from the service of France, and the cause he had originally come over to Scotland to support—Lennox having sent in a memorial of his complaints against the Cardinal to Francis, representing himself as an injured person. When de Lorge came to Stirling to pay his compliments to Mary of Lorraine, a

[1] Lindsay of Pitscottie.

stormy scene took place between the Cardinal and him in her privy chamber, on this subject—rather a delicate one to her, all things considered. De Lorge asked Cardinal Beton in plain terms "why he did not keep faith with the Earl of Lennox, after he had lured him from the service of the King his master, by promising to make him Governor of Scotland, and husband to the Queen's Grace, thus causing him to leave a country where his honourable living lay, and come to Scotland, where he was only mocked and scorned."[1] The Cardinal, instead of explaining that it was out of his power to make any one Governor of the realm without the consent of the Parliament, and that the Queen had used a lady's privilege in changing her mind, if she had ever intended to honour the said Earl with her hand, lost his temper, and told de Lorge in direct words that he lied. The fiery soldier at this insult clenched his hand, and, unrestrained by the presence of the Queen, hit the Cardinal so vengeful a blow that it hurled him against the door; then, flinging himself upon the privileged person of his antagonist, he would have stabbed him then and there, if several persons had not hastened to separate them. Besides this ruffianly assault on the person of the right reverend Chancellor of Scotland, in the presence of a royal lady, de Lorge called him false priest, and other scurrilous names. Mary of Lorraine, though much offended at the altercation, and doubtless alarmed at the prospect of homicide being committed before her, instead of reproving her choleric countryman for his violence, testified her displeasure to the Cardinal by ordering him to retire to his own town of St Andrews, that peace might be restored in her court. She continued to show great attention to de Lorge during the rest of his sojourn in Scotland.

The following interesting letter, without date, was written to Mary of Lorraine by her royal kinsman and friend, the Dauphin, afterwards Henry II., King of France, apparently about this time, requesting her good offices in favour of his

[1] Lindsay of Pitscottie, 449. This incident affords sufficient contradiction to Buchanan's erroneous assertion that de Lorge was the enemy of Lennox.

servant, the Lord d'Aubigny, who had been arrested in the preceding year, and thrown into prison by Francis I., under suspicion of being an accomplice in the treasons of his brother, the Earl of Lennox:—

HENRY THE DAUPHIN TO MARY OF LORRAINE.

"A MADAME MA SEUR, LA ROYNE D'ECOSSE.

"MADAME, MY SISTER,—You know the time that has passed since the Sieur d'Aubigny was arrested and imprisoned, for the faults committed by the Earl of Lennox his brother; and from this he cannot be cleared, except by an assurance that he had no share in the same from Scotland. I entreat you, Madame, my Sister, to make yourself acquainted with the true state of the case; and that you would inform the King, my lord and father, of the result of your inquiries touching this poor gentleman. It is my wish to do him this kindness, having always known him to be a man well and affectionately disposed to my service, that he may be released and restored to his liberty if he be innocent of what has been suspected, or properly punished, if it be found on inquiry that he deserves it. This is but reasonable. In investigating this matter, Madame, my sister, you will oblige me no less than such an undertaking merits; and if you please to command me to do anything that may be in my power, you will always find me ready to employ my utmost influence therein, with hearty goodwill. I desire to be humbly remembered to your good grace. Beseeching in conclusion our Lord to give you, Madame, my Sister, good health, long life, and all your desires.

"Your humble and good brother and friend,

"HENRY."[1]

That Mary of Lorraine exerted herself, at the request of this powerful intercessor, to exonerate d'Aubigny from the aspersion which the Cardinal had, out of revenge against Lennox, thrown on his character, there can be little doubt. She certainly testified her conviction of his integrity by honouring him with an appointment in her own household; for Henry, in a subsequent letter to her, speaks of having received the tidings she had sent him by the Sieur d'Aubigny, one of her gentlemen.[2]

De Lorge Montgomery, on his return to France, made honourable mention of the hospitable and courteous treatment he received from Mary of Lorraine, as appears by another of Henry's letters to her.

[1] From the original French preserved in the Balcarres Collection, and printed in the first volume of the Maitland Club Miscellany, p. 214.

[2] Ibid., 216.

HENRY THE DAUPHIN TO MARY OF LORRAINE.

"MADAME, MY SISTER, — I have received your letters by the Sieur Dozy, valet-de-chambre of the King my lord and father, and understand by him everything according to the charge you have given him, of which I am very glad; but, above all, it pleases me to hear of the good state of health in which he has left you. Moreover, the Sieur de Lorges has fully informed me of the occurrences of his expedition, and the good treatment you have given him during the same; and also of the good-will with which you constantly exert yourself in promoting the interest of the King, my said lord and father, for which you are heartily thanked. Assuring you at the same time, Madame, my Sister, that if there be anything in which it is in my power to do you a pleasure and service, and you will let me know, I will exert myself to the utmost for its accomplishment.

"After commending myself to your good grace, I beseech our Lord to preserve you in health, and to give you a long and prosperous life.

"From St Germain-en-Laye, the 4th day of March 1545-6.

"Your good brother,

"HENRY."[1]

The estrangement between Mary of Lorraine and Cardinal Beton was now complete. He perceived that she bestowed all her countenance on his great enemy, the Earl of Angus, and that his influence with her had ceased from the time he had allied himself with the Governor, instead of assisting to establish her in her assumption of the title of Queen-Regent. The Cardinal had chosen his party, on that occasion, with great sagacity, perceiving that the Governor was supported in his office by the majority of the people, and that there was only the life of an infant between him and the throne. The subtle ecclesiastic had acquired over Arran's weak mind an ascendency which enabled him to be Governor's governor, and to rule under the cover of his authority as completely as if he had succeeded in the bold attempt of establishing himself in the regency; nay, more so, for he had none of the responsibility, and he was rid of the interference of the Queen-mother, whose anxiety for her daughter's interest might have led her to cross his systematic plans for the establishment of an ecclesiastical despotism, which should at once enslave the people, and exalt the horns of the mitre above the crown. If he had adhered to

[1] From the original French, printed in the first volume of the Maitland Club Miscellany, from the Balcarres MSS., Advocates' Library.

[2] Lindsay of Pitscottie, 450. [3] Ibid.

the Queen-mother he must have submitted to womanish caprice, and assisted her to accomplish her favourite scheme of wedding her daughter to the youthful heir of France—a scheme which, however flattering to the pride of a Princess of the house of Guise-Lorraine, was attended with infinite disadvantages to the realm of the young Sovereign. Besides, he was well aware of the Queen-mother's affection for her own family, and that, even if she succeeded in getting the reins of empire into her own hands, they would be guided, not by him, but by the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise; and he had greater objects in view than playing the understrapper to men whose domination would not be tolerated in Scotland. He had openly opposed the matrimonial alliance with England; and he was working secretly against that of France, by persuading all the nobles he could to enter into a bond of association for promoting a marriage between their sovereign lady and the eldest son of the Governor Arran. This youth was under Cardinal Beton's tutelage at the castle of St Andrews, receiving a classical education, and at the same time hostage for the performance of whatever engagements his father had made to that subtle statesman, who, with a careful eye to future contingencies, was training up the noble student with all external accomplishments that might fit him to perform the part of a puppet-king under his direction, in the event of the crown falling to that lineage, either by the death of the Queen or her marriage with this their mutual kinsman. Either of these events would bring Cardinal Beton into close connection with the reigning family; for the Earl of Arran, being his sister's son, was flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone. The young Lord Hamilton, Arran's heir, was the Cardinal's pupil, living in his house, moulded to his will, and accustomed to pay him the obedience of a son, so that there was every inducement for preferring his interests to the fulfilment of the Queen-mother's wishes.

Knox endeavours, most unfairly, to implicate Mary of Lorraine in the murder of George Wishart, by affirming that she prevailed upon the Earl of Bothwell to deliver him

up to be kept in the castle of Edinburgh. These are his words :—

"The servant of God, Maister George Wishart, was carried first to Edinburgh, thereafter brought back for the fashion's sake to the house of Hales again, which was the principal place that then the Earl of Bothwell had in Lothian. But as gold and women" [Knox never omits an opportunity of attacking the weaker sex] "have corrupted all worldly and fleshly men from the beginning, so did they him. For the Cardinal gave gold, and that largely; and the Queen, with whom the said Earl was then in the *glondouris*," [sulks,] "promised favours in all his lawful suits to women," [query, in what manner?] "if he would deliver the said Maister George to be kept in Edinburgh Castle. He made some resistance at first, by reason of his promise; but an effeminate man cannot long resist the assaults of a gracious Queen, and so was the servant of God transported to Edinburgh, where he remained not many days; for that bloody wolf, the Cardinal, ever thirsting for the blood of the servant of God, so travailed with the abased Governor that he was content that God's servant should be delivered to the power of that tyranny."[1]

The facts were these: Cardinal Beton, who with all his penetration was blind to the signs of the times, and madly bent on straining the curb of spiritual despotism, having urged the Governor to prove the sincerity of his reconciliation to the Church of Rome, by putting in force the statutes recently passed in his Parliament at Edinburgh for the suppression of heresy, summoned a council of the clergy to sit at the Blackfriars, January 1545-6. He and his nephew, the Governor, returned to attend the meeting from St Andrews, where they had been enjoying the Christmas festivities merrily together.[2] The Queen-mother held her separate court, meantime, at Stirling, which was then the nucleus of the opposition party, among whom the Earl of Angus, the sworn enemy of Cardinal Beton, stood pre-eminent in her favour and credit. It is, therefore, certain that she had naught to do with that tragedy.

During the deliberations of the clerical convention, Beton learned that George Wishart was at the house of Cockburn of Ormiston, in East Lothian, and sent a party of his servants to seize him. His authority being denied, he induced the Governor to order the Earl of Bothwell to act in his official capacity as sheriff of the county for the

[1] Hist. of Reformation in Scotland. Edited by D. Laing, Esq., p. 143.
[2] Keith.

arrest. Bothwell, at the head of five hundred men, proceeded to Ormiston, and demanded George Wishart, who, according to Knox, was only resigned on the condition of Bothwell promising that no injury should befall him. Whether it is probable that such promise was made by any sheriff, who had come with five hundred men at his back to arrest a person supposed to be amenable to the laws, we do not presume to decide; but even if he did, he was prevented from keeping it, not by the blandishments of the Queen Dowager, but by the compulsory power of a warrant of the Privy Council, enjoining him, under the extreme penalty of treason, to surrender Mr George Wishart into the hands of the Governor, or some person authorised by him for that purpose.[1] The probability is that Mary of Lorraine, who was not at Edinburgh, but at Stirling, knew nothing of the arrest of Wishart till he was incarcerated in the Cardinal's stronghold at St Andrews; and even if she had been disposed to act the part ascribed to her by Knox, her interference could not have increased the authority of the warrant of the Privy Council. Besides, as Knox himself acknowledges, Bothwell was on ill terms with her at this very time. He had made the mortifying discovery, after he had impaired his fortune in his ambitious love-chase, that he had only been used as a political tool by the royal coquette. Following the example of his former rival, Lennox, he had withdrawn from her court in anger, leagued himself with her enemies, and endeavoured to replenish his empty coffers with the bribes of England. As a proof that no reconciliation between him and Mary of Lorraine took place at this period, it is only necessary to mention that when his treasonable correspondence with the English council was discovered, and his estates were confiscated, she obtained a grant of his forfeiture for her own use.[2] He

[1] A copy of the warrant of the Privy Council has been printed in black letter in the folio edition of Keith, p. 41; and also by Mr Laing in his valuable notes on Knox's History of the Reformation of Scotland.

[2] Privy Seal Register, January 1547-8. See also Chalmers' Life of James, Earl of Bothwell, vol. ii. Life of Queen Mary.

became, meantime, the recipient of a pension of three thousand crowns from Henry VIII., and solicited, like the Earl of Lennox, to be rewarded for his treasons with the hand of an English Princess.[1] The only lady connected with the royal family, of suitable age, who was judged not of too exalted a rank to be given in marriage to this rejected suitor of the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, was Katharine Willoughby, the widow of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; and she was promised to him on condition of his renouncing his allegiance to his own Sovereign, and putting his stronghold, Hermitage Castle, (of which, by-the-bye, he was only a crown-tenant,) into the hands of the English. Katharine Willoughby's love-match with Bertie traversed this arrangement. Whether Bothwell's matrimonial negotiation with the English government for a bride of the Tudor family "was one of the lawful suits to women" which Knox pretends the Queen-mother of Scotland promised to favour, we leave to the judgment of the unprejudiced reader. The probabilities are that, if she had retained her wonted influence over the heart of the man whose affections she had insulted, she would have used it to oblige, and not to outrage, the party of which she was just then the patroness, her only hope of supplanting the Governor depending on their support.

It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the two great events of the spring of 1556—the martyrdom of George Wishart, and the assassination of Cardinal Beton,—the particulars of these revolting tragedies having been fully recorded in general as well as ecclesiastical history.[2]

[1] Letters of Lord Wharton in the Maitland Miscellany. Burnet. Keith. Tytler.

[2] Those who desire to look deeper are referred to the correspondence in the State Paper Office on Scotch affairs, for the years 1543, 4, 5, and 6, Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, Haynes' State Papers, and the Abstracts from the Hamilton Papers. Important and startling lights will doubtless be thrown on the dark places of history, whenever the noble head of the house of Hamilton can be induced to grant facilities for the publication of the vast treasury of documents in his archives. In the mean time, rival parties take possession of the broken evidences of a mysterious subject, each treats it according to his own view of the case, a clash of polemic weapons fol-

An immediate coalition between the Queen Dowager and the Governor took place after the Cardinal's death. A convention of the lords, irrespective of party, met at Stirling on the 10th of June. The great obstacle to a general reconciliation being removed, mutual concessions were made, and past offences forgiven on all sides. The Governor then consented to annul the bond by which the associate nobles of his party had covenanted to contract their young sovereign lady in marriage to his eldest son,[1] which had been no small cause of displeasure to the royal mother. It has been asserted that it was the importunity of Mary of Lorraine that prevailed on the Governor to avenge the murder of Cardinal Beton by besieging the castle of St Andrews,[2] which the assassins had seized, plundered, and, assisted by their English allies, had converted into an independent stronghold for the disaffected; but the fact that his eldest son, the young Lord Hamilton, was a captive within the walls of that fortress, must, we presume, have afforded rather a more powerful incentive to the efforts of the anxious father for his deliverance, than the urgency of any lady in the world—unless, indeed, that of his wife, the mother of the luckless youth who was in such perilous custody. There was also another person who was probably far more importunate with Arran to take means for the reduction of the castle of St Andrews than the Queen Dowager, namely, his illegitimate brother, who had been appointed to succeed Cardinal Beton as Archbishop of that see, and was, of course, anxious to take possession of its rich temporalities. This prelate was a person of no less subtlety and cruelty than the late Cardinal—in fact, he possessed all his faults, without sharing his decision of character, and integrity in regard to money. He soon acquired as complete an ascendency over the weak intellect of the Governor as had been established by the Cardinal, and employed

lows every allusion to it, and drawn battles are fought with as much energy as if it were possible for a victory to be gained by either side under existing circumstances.

[1] Privy Council Register, p. 2.

[2] Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 214. Robertson.

it for as bad a purpose. The insurgents in the castle of St Andrews being, for the most part, the pensioners of England, received such assistance from seaward as to enable them, for many months, to set the Governor at naught, who, after spending great part of the winter in battering those apparently impregnable walls, raised the siege in despair and returned to Edinburgh.

"They who held the castle," says Buchanan,[1] "being thus out of all fear of their enemy, did not only make frequent incursions into the neighbouring parts, and commit depredations with fire and sword all round, but, as if the liberty gotten by their arms were to be employed in the most flagrant vices, they ran into all the wickedness of which idle persons can be capable, for they measured right or wrong by no other rule than their own lust. Neither could they be reclaimed by the preaching of John Knox, who then came to them, and often warned them that God would not be mocked, but would take severe vengeance on these who were violaters of his laws, even by those whom they least dreamed of; yet his exhortations could not stop the course of their long impiety." It was as minister to this hopeful congregation that the great Reformer of the north commenced his predicatory labours, with about the same degree of success as if Noah had preached to the unclean beasts in the ark. He told them plainly that their corrupt lives could not escape punishment from God. When they boasted of their temporary successes, he replied, "Ye see not what I see!" When they bragged of the force and thickness of their walls, he said, "They shall be as eggshells;" and when they vaunted, "England will rescue us," his answer ever was, "Ye shall not see them, but ye shall be delivered into your enemies' hands, and shall be carried into ane strange country."[2] This prediction was literally fulfilled by the captain-general of the French galleys, Leon Strozzi, to whom they surrendered on the 30th of July 1547, carrying the whole congregation away

[1] History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 214, ed. 4, 8vo.
[2] Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 204.

in his galleys to the shores of Normandy and Bretagne. Knox, though a sharer in the calamity, obtained in consequence the reputation of possessing the gift of prophecy. His knowledge of the evil deeds of these ruffians had, of course, convinced him that they would be punished by expatriation from the realm, whose authorities they had disclaimed, and whose laws they had violated in so shameless a manner, that they preferred surrendering themselves to the French naval commander to the chance of being arraigned and brought to trial in Scotland for their crimes. In the chamber of Mr Henry Balnaves was found a book containing the signatures of upwards of two hundred of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who had secretly bound themselves to the service of "their gentle masters of England," with minutes of the sums paid, and to be paid, for delivering up fortresses in which the main defence of their own country consisted, to "the old enemy."[1]

Six months before the reduction of the castle of St Andrews, Henry VIII. was summoned to his great account, having filled up the measure of his iniquities by his vindictive cruelties to Scotland. He died planning fresh schemes of vengeance against that devoted country. Brief respite, however, was obtained by his decease, for the same policy was pursued by the Duke of Somerset, the protector of the realm and person of the young Sovereign, Edward VI. of England. Somerset having been, when Earl of Hertford, Henry's lieutenant-general, and the pitiless executioner of the barbarous decrees of that fell tyrant against Edinburgh, Leith, and the once fair and fruitful Lothians, had excited feelings of indignation in every honest heart, for the miseries he had inflicted during his mission of destruction in the year 1544. Too many of the titled traitors who had been in the pay of Henry VIII. were, indeed, ready to give him underhand assistance in his

[1] MS. Letters in the State Paper Office. Keith, p. 60. See also Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 322, and Rymer's Fœdera, for statements of some of the payments disbursed to Balnaves, Kirkaldy, Norman Lesley, and Bothwell.

designs against the liberty of their hapless country; but the great body of the people were true, and ready to rally round the throne of their infant Queen. Mary of Lorraine and the Governor, united by a sense of the impending perils of the realm, were excellent friends at this period. He took active measures to arm the people and fortify the coasts; she sent imploring letters and messages to her royal kinsman, the King of France, craving succour. Francis I. having departed this life in March 1547, the throne of that realm was occupied by his eldest surviving son, Henry II., the personal friend and constant correspondent of Mary of Lorraine. As soon as the ceremony of his coronation was over, he sent M. d'Oysell, a gentleman formerly well known and much esteemed by that Princess, as his ambassador to the little Queen, her daughter, charged with letters assuring her of his determination to do everything in his power to aid in the defence of Scotland.

In one of his letters, Henry assures the royal widow "that no one can be better satisfied than he is with the good-will she has shown for his service; and that, knowing full well the great need she has of his assistance, he will instantly attend to her affairs, and take care that succours shall be sent very soon, as the expedition, he hopes, will be ready to sail by the middle of April." [1] The French galleys, under the command of Leon Strozzi, did not, however, arrive in the Firth till the latter end of July.[2]

Occasional traits of the national recreations of old Scotia are to be gathered in the Royal Compotus, showing that there were gleams of mirth for the people in the brief intervals between battle and siege, even in the midst of foreign and domestic warfare, before the sombre spirit of Puritanism abolished all sports and pastimes, among which May games were more sternly anathematised than any other. In the May of 1547, we find a guerdon was given by the Governor Arran to certain minstrels of the town of Dumbarton and their Robin Hood—a popular hero imported, we suppose, by some of the English Queen-consorts from

[1] Balcarres MSS., Advocates' Library.
[2] Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi.

merry England; and on May 13th, at his Grace's returning to Edinburgh, the Robin Hood of that city was also rewarded.[1]

In the course of the same spring, Mary of Lorraine and the Governor enjoyed the pleasures of the chase together, for there is an entry in the Royal Compotus for the expenses of "removing the falcons and horses from Edinburgh to Peebles, on the 13th of June, the time of my Lord-governor and the Queen's Grace passing to hunting."[2]

The storm that had long been gathering in the south assailed Scotland, both by sea and land, in the early part of September. The Protector Somerset crossed the Border on the 2d of that month, at the head of fourteen thousand veteran troops, and, with little opposition, encamped at Inveresk on the 8th. The Governor Arran, meantime, sent the fiery cross through the length and breadth of the land, to summon a levy of all the male population, of whatsoever degree, to the defence of their country and Queen. A rude undisciplined muster of forty thousand men appeared in obedience to that ancient national telegraph of distress. The Scotch camp was at Musselburgh, an ill-chosen spot; and the English fleet, hovering along the coast, was able, with their light-armed small craft, to harass the Scotch militia. After some skirmishing had taken place on the 9th, the Earl of Huntley, who was the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, made the chivalric proposal to the Duke of Somerset of saving the effusion of Christian blood, by choosing twenty men on either side to decide the contest; or, if he preferred it, to fight it out themselves, hand to hand, in single combat.[3] Somerset treated the proposal with cool contempt, alleging that he was a personage of too much importance to venture his life in such an enterprise; nor would he permit Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who was eager to accept the challenge, to do so, telling him that Huntley was not his equal in rank. What superiority the son of Henry VII.'s extortioner minister, the infamous Sir Edmund Dudley, could boast

[1] Treasury Records in the Register Office, Edinburgh.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Herbert's Henry VIII. Tytler.

over the chief of the gallant Gordons, in whose veins flowed the blood of Scottish kings, might have puzzled even the English heralds of that day to set forth, skilled as they were in manufacturing lofty pedigrees for the parvenu statesmen of the Tudor era. Somerset offered to withdraw his troops, if the Scots would consent to keep their young Queen in in Scotland, and free from all marriage-contracts, till she was of age to decide for herself, whether she would fulfil her original engagement to King Edward. Such, however, was the enmity which the aggressions of England had provoked that these reasonable terms were rejected, and the disastrous battle of Pinkie-cleugh was fought on the fatal morrow, September 10, 1547. It has been said that this national calamity was foretold in the rhyming prophecies of Thomas of Ercildoun. Sir Walter Scott, who considers the passage as an interpolation by a court poet of the close of the sixteenth century, has thus modernised the lines :—

"Yet turn ye to the eastern hand,
And woe and wonder ye shall see—
Here forty thousand spearmen stand,
Where yon rank river meets the sea.
There shall the Lyon lose the gylte,
And the libbards[1] bear it clean away;
At Pinkyncleugh there shall be spilt
Much gentil blude that day."

The battle gained its name from being fought in the fields near the ancient mansion of Pinkie House, at present the seat of Sir John Hope, Bart. The loss of the battle has been attributed, not so much to the valour of the English, as to the influence of their bribes; "for it was plainly reported," observes Dr Patrick Anderson, "that some were traitors amongst us, and that they received gold from England, which gave rise to the following sarcastic distich :—

'It was your gold and our traitors wanne
The field of Pinkie, and noe Englishman.'"[2]

[1] Leopards, the cognisance of the Plantagenet monarchs.
[2] MS. History of Scotland, cited by David Laing. Note in his edition of Knox's Works, vol. i. p. 213.

The chase and slaughter extended nearly to Edinburgh on one side, and westward to Dalkeith on the other. The number of the Scotch slain in this battle has been computed at about ten thousand men.

Mary of Lorraine was in Edinburgh, awaiting with an anxious heart the event of this bloody conflict. When the disastrous tidings of the defeat reached her, she posted the same night to Stirling Castle, accompanied by M. d'Oysell. In this battle she lost a faithful and much valued friend, the Master of Erskine, for whom she made great lamentation at the time, and bore his loss in mind many days.[1] It was by her eloquence and judicious counsel that the feeble-minded Governor was roused from his despondency, to levy a fresh army, and adopt such energetic measures for expelling the English as induced the victorious Somerset to pause at Leith, where he possessed the means of retreat, instead of marching to Stirling to encounter the formidable rally of the true-hearted portion of the nobles and people of Scotland. Maternal tenderness and prudence alike prompted the royal mother to provide for the safety of her precious little one by removing her from her palace at Stirling to a place of refuge, whence she might, in the event of being pursued, retreat in an hour's time into some inaccessible Highland glen, for concealment and protection from her foes. The young Queen was accordingly conveyed by her two faithful keepers, the Lords Erskine and Livingstone, to Inchmahome Priory, in the picturesque isle so called, in the Lake of Menteith. Mary of Lorraine accompanied her child thither, and remained with her in that sweet solitude during the residue of the calamitous month of September.[2] There are payments in the Royal Compotus "to *ane* boy direct to the Queen's Grace, with *ane* writing of my Lord Governor to the Queen's Grace at Inchmahome." This small official appears to have been employed as a sort of post to carry letters and tidings to the royal recluse, during the agitating period of the sojourn of the English invaders at Leith. Eight shillings

[1] Knox's History of the Reformation.
[2] Tytler. Lesley, p. 200.

is the payment accorded to the trusty urchin for going "to the Queen's Grace direct, to advertise her of the *novellis*."[1]

Both before and after this entry, dismal items appear of wages paid to certain men appointed to the necessary but distressing business of "*erding*,"—that is, earthing or burying the slain resting in the fields, and encumbering the streets of the beautiful and once peaceful villages of Inveresk, Smeton, Monktown, and other places in the barony of Musselburgh. In addition to the other woes of Scotland, the plague was raging in various parts of the country.

Somerset and his army remained for eight days at Leith, and after sacking Edinburgh a second time, and devastating the country all round, destroying the ripening corn, and performing the work of incarnate demons, set fire to the newly rebuilt town of Leith, and departed—leaving the Queen-mother and the people of Scotland more firmly determined against the English alliance for the little Queen than before.[2] The outrages committed by that party, indeed, furnished Mary of Lorraine with plausible arguments for obtaining the consent of the Estates of Scotland to the secret wish she long had cherished for uniting her royal daughter to the heir-apparent of France. Leaving the little Queen under the care of her two lord-keepers, her nurse, and ladies in waiting, in the lonely isle of Inchmahome, Mary of Lorraine returned to attend in person the convention of the nobles, summoned by the Governor to meet in Stirling. A woeful defection appeared, in consequence of the number of traitors who now openly ranked themselves with the desolators of their native land. It was therefore evident that Scotland would be unable, deserted and betrayed as she was by those who were her natural defenders, to continue the contest with England, unless supported by France. The Queen-mother and her friends represented the expediency of providing for the personal safety of the infant Sovereign by sending her to complete her education in France, that friendly realm, under the powerful protection

[1] Treasury Records, Register Office, Edinburgh.
[2] Lesley. Tytler. Robertson. Diurnal of Occurrents.

of their ally Henry II.; and this, they observed, would be the best method of averting future English invasions, the great object of these descents on Scotland being the carrying her off to England. D'Oysell, the French ambassador, finding this opening was favourably received, made such professions of his Sovereign's affection for the Scotch, and his determination to keep up the ancient alliance, that the Queen-mother took the opportunity of suggesting that the Dauphin would be a more suitable and congenial consort for her daughter than the King of England, whose pretensions to her hand had already caused unprecedented misery to the realm.[1]

Henry II. received the overture with rapture, and, by his flattering attentions and promises, overcame the reluctance of the Governor Arran to allow the hand of the young Sovereign to be plighted to the Dauphin. The secret determination of Arran to reserve her for his own son had been the great obstacle to the matrimonial treaty with England. In opposing the union of Mary Stuart with her royal cousin Edward Tudor, he had unwittingly played the game that suited the views of the Queen-mother, who had set her mind upon the French alliance. The Protector Somerset, meantime, perceiving that a great error had been committed by endeavouring to win the royal bride he desired for the King his nephew by violence, now attempted a more conciliatory policy, by addressing persuasive letters to the Governor and Lords of the Council, to induce them to enter into an amicable treaty for that purpose. He endeavoured unremittingly to prevail on the captive Earl of Huntley to promote the union; but that nobleman replied, "I dislike not so much the marriage as the manner of wooing."

The Privy-Council Kalendar of Edward VI. contains a few curious records on the subject of this much-desired alliance, and above all, a form of prayer for the accomplishment of a peaceful union between the two realms by the marriage of King Edward with Mary, Queen of Scotland,

[1] Tytler, vol. vi. p. 37. Robertson, vol. i. p. 127.

which was appointed to be read in all the churches in the month of January 1547-8—that is, at the opening of the New Year.[1] From the same authority may be gathered some particulars of the artful manner in which the Queen-mother, Mary of Lorraine, through her agents endeavoured to stir up a revolt in Ireland against her daughter's unwelcome suitor, young Edward, by an implied offer of the hand of the little Queen to Gerald, the youthful Earl of Kildare, for the purpose of inciting all Ireland to throw off the English yoke, and unite with Scotland as one realm.[2] This project was of course never seriously contemplated, but only devised as a political *ruse* for troubling the English government, by furnishing other employment for fleets and armies than the meditated invasion of Scotland. Not even the insurrectionary movements in Norfolk, and other parts of England, could divert the Protector Somerset from his pertinacious determination of compelling the Scotch to accept his royal nephew for the husband of their baby Queen. In April 1548, the English warden, Lord Wharton, in conjunction with the Earl of Lennox, invaded the western marches; and the Lord Gray de Wilton, entering on the eastern side, spread war and desolation nearly to the walls of Edinburgh. He burned Dalkeith and surprised Haddington, which he fortified and manned with a garrison, partly composed of Englishmen and partly of foreign mercenaries. At this period of national distress, famine, pestilence, intestine divisions, and the sword, were devastating Scotland. Lindsay of Pitscottie tells us that the Queen-mother, as well as the Governor, was highly *commoved* at the oppressions done to the poor people of Lothian, Angus, and Fife, by the landing of the crew of English ships, which lay between Broughty Castle and Dundee in the Firth of Tay. Broughty Castle was considered one of the great defences of that part of Scotland, and had been basely betrayed into the

[1] Privy-Council Kalendar, 1547-8. State Paper Office MS., inedited—32 B.

[2] Ibid., January 19. The examination and confession of John Ladwicke and Thomas Werden as to the statement of the captain of the Christopher, Leith—34 B.

hands of the English by one of their most unscrupulous confederates, Alexander Whitlaw of New Grange, for which he was subsequently put to the horn. The barons and gentlemen of Fife were under the necessity of keeping up a nightly watch, for safety of their goods and gear; for the English spoilers were accustomed to make sudden incursions on both sides the water, to burn and harry the country round. Also the English did great mischief by having got possession of Inchkeith and Haddington, from which strongholds the Governor in vain endeavoured to dislodge them. The misery caused by such a state of things may be imagined. Nothing but the hopeful energy of the Queen-mother could have animated the feeble-minded Governor to maintain a contest so unequal and dispiriting. Amidst all discouragements, she continued to cheer him with the promise of succour from France. At length the long-desired sails appeared, bringing men, money, and food for the starving population, whose cattle had been driven away, and their harvests destroyed, by the barbarity of Somerset in the preceding autumn. It is no wonder that an indignant sense of the intolerable wrongs they had endured from England had generated a determination among the people of Scotland to resist to the last drop of blood the aggressors who had converted their once happy country into a howling wilderness. The French alliance, always popular, was now more prized than ever; and the Queen-mother was regarded with feelings of respect and affection by all parties, for hitherto she had steered her course so prudently as to give offence to none.

The French armament consisted of three thousand German soldiers, under the command of their native Prince, the Rhinegrave, and two thousand French veterans, led by M. d'Essé, a military noble and statesman of brilliant talents, who was invested by his Sovereign with full powers for the completion of the matrimonial treaty between Francis the Dauphin, and the young Queen of Scotland. Many gallant aspirants for renown among the chivalry of France and Normandy had joined the expedition, not out of obedience to the mandate of Henry of Valois, but as

volunteers, from a romantic desire to fight in the cause of their distressed countrywoman, the Queen-mother of Scotland, who was considered at that time one of the most beautiful and captivating Princesses in Europe, though no longer in the morning freshness of youth.

The French fleet arrived at Leith, June 16. On the 7th of July a Parliament met at the Abbey of Haddington, without the town, which was then in possession of the English. M. d'Essé, assisted by the French ambassador, M. d'Oysell, opened his commission in the presence of the Queen-mother, the Governor, and the principal nobles of the realm, and demanded the young Queen of Scotland for the future consort of Francis the Dauphin. After a warm debate, the offer was accepted by a considerable majority of voices; and it was further agreed that, for the security of her person, and the better completion of her education, the little Queen should be sent to France, and delivered without delay into the hands of authorities commissioned by the French Sovereign to receive her.[1]

The royal child had, in anticipation of this arrangement, been carried to Dumbarton on the last day of the preceding February; and there, under the care of two of her faithful personal guardians, the Lords Erskine and Livingstone, her two preceptors, Erskine, Abbot of Inchmahome,[2] and the Parson of Balmaclellan, with her nurse, Janet Sinclair, and the noble ladies of her household, she had remained for nearly five months. One cogent reason which had compelled Mary of Lorraine to send her darling to this isolated fortress on the Clyde, was that the plague had broken out in her own household while at Edinburgh, and she was therefore anxious to remove her as far as possible from the danger of the infection.

The Queen-mother remained in the nunnery at Haddington till she saw her long-cherished dream of maternal ambition progressing to its accomplishment, by the completion of the treaty of betrothal between her daughter and

[1] Lesley. Buchanan. Tytler.
[2] Afterwards the Regent Mar.

the young heir of France. This was solemnly ratified by the Governor Arran, the French ambassador d'Oysell, and M. d'Essé, with the consent of the Estates of Scotland, during the military operations of the siege of the town of Haddington, almost in the sight of the English garrison, who could scarcely avoid hearing the pealing of the bells which announced its conclusion. As soon as the *Te Deum* had been chanted in the abbey in honour of that event, Mary of Lorraine proceeded to Dumbarton to hasten the preparations for the departure of that precious child who had been the solace of her widowhood, and whose presence had hitherto appeared as necessary to her as the light to her eyes. No mother in private life had ever watched over her offspring with more tender solicitude than had been shown by the royal widow of James V. for her fatherless babe during the period of her unconscious infancy; but with far more anxious care had she directed her attention to the all-important duty of commencing the education of the young Queen on a systematic and judicious plan of her own. Aware of the advantages of companionship in learning, and desirous of providing not only proper instruction, but innocent society and healthful recreation for her child, she selected from among the daughters of the nobles in the court circle four little girls, of the same age and the same name as the young Queen, for her maids of honour, to be constantly about her, both as class-mates in the time of study and playfellows in the hours of recreation. These young ladies, who were called the Queen's Maries, were Mary Livingstone, youngest daughter of Alexander, fifth Lord Livingstone; Mary Fleming, daughter of the Lord Fleming and the illegitimate daughter of James IV.; Mary Seton, daughter of Lord Seton; and Mary Beton. They received, by the Queen-mother's orders, precisely the same education as their royal mistress, being instructed in whatever she was taught, and by the same masters. More than one of these young ladies wrote, it is said, in consequence, in a character so precisely resembling that of the young Queen that it was scarcely possible to detect the difference; but this natural result of the community of

education adopted was the only undesirable result of this judicious system which Mary of Lorraine had devised for the moral and intellectual training of her royal daughter. The English, to whom the Queen-mother's design of sending her daughter to France was no secret, were on the watch to intercept the royal voyager, but were outwitted by the cunning manœuvres of the French naval commanders of the galleys intended for her convoy. These had formed part of the expedition that landed M. d'Essé and the troops in the preceding June. When they had disembarked that freight they had set sail as if for France, but when out of sight of land changed their course; and being supplied with a band of experienced Scottish pilots, they coasted round by Sutherland, Orkney, and the Isles, and, entering the mouth of the Clyde, appeared before Dumbarton, having safely performed a voyage never before attempted by galleys.[1]

The touching scene of the parting between the royal mother and daughter took place on the 7th of August, in the presence of the Governor Arran, and many noble spectators, on that picturesque green spot of broken ground which juts from the foot of the lofty rock of Dumbarton into the broad waters of the Clyde.

All things being ready, and the tide serving, the young Sovereign was brought, with the ceremonial pomp of royal etiquette, by the Lords Erskine and Livingstone, the two noble commissioners for the safe keeping of her person then on duty, and her other officers of state, down the narrow descent from her chamber in the fortress, on the western peak of the rock, attended by her four Maries, her faithful nurse Janet Sinclair, her governess the Lady Fleming, her two preceptors, the Abbot of Inchmahome and the Parson of Balmaclellan; and her three illegitimate brothers—the Lord James Stuart, Prior of St Andrews, afterwards the Regent Moray, Lord John, the Commendator of Holyrood Abbey, and the Lord Robert, Prior of Orkney —who were to be the companions of her voyage. The

[1] Lesley's History of Scotland.

Queen-mother, then, assisted by the Governor Arran, delivered her royal daughter to the Chevalier de Villegaignon and the Sieur de Brézé, hereditary Seneschal of Normandy, the gentlemen commissioned by the King of France to receive that precious charge. The little Queen was observed to shed tears silently after she had received the maternal blessing and farewell kiss of the only parent she had ever known; but, early trained in the regal science of self-control, she offered no resistance, and permitted herself to be carried on board the galley of the King of France, which had been fitted up, and sent expressly for her accommodation, by the august sire of her future spouse. An eyewitness of the embarkation has recorded "that the young Queen was at that time one of the most perfect creatures the God of nature ever formed, for that her equal was nowhere to be found, nor had the world another child of her fortune and hopes."[1]

More than ten years had passed away since Mary of Lorraine had seen her first-born son, the young Duke of Longueville, and now she had deprived herself of her last treasure, the sweet babe in whose smiles she had found an endearing solace for all her other bereavements. The pangs which wrung her heart may be imagined when her exciting part in the state drama had been performed, and she stood on that rocky promontory, surrounded by flattering courtiers, and all the proud externals of royal splendour, but in childless loneliness, watching the receding galleys that were swiftly bearing her beautiful and beloved little Mary far from her longing eyes. The pain of this separation was not, perhaps, the less poignantly felt by the royal mother because it had been self-inflicted.

[1] Beaugué's History of the Two Campaigns.

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MARY OF LORRAINE

CHAPTER V.

SUMMARY

Mary of Lorraine's anxiety about the young Queen—Receives news of her landing—Queen of France's commendations of the young Queen—Mary of Lorraine returns to Edinburgh—Visits the camp—Her popularity with the soldiers—She is suspected of the plague—Bridal of her maid of honour—News of the little Queen—Martial enterprise to please Mary of Lorraine—Her gambling propensities—Letter to her from the King of France—Complaints addressed to her by the young Queen's nurse—Peace with England—Mary of Lorraine visited by her brother—Death of her father—She intercedes for the Scotch prisoners in the French galleys—Obtains their release—She embarks for France—She lands at Havre—Goes to Rouen—Interview with the young Queen her daughter—Honours paid to both Queens by the King of France—Mary of Lorraine goes to Paris—Her political intrigues—Reports of the English ambassador concerning her—She is annoyed by the Scotch nobles' rudeness—Her bribery—Festive progress with the French court—Takes leave of her daughter at Fontainebleau—Visits her mother the Dowager-Duchess de Guise, at Joinville—Goes to her son the Duke de Longueville at Amiens—His dangerous illness—She nurses him—Sympathising letter of Jeanne, Queen of Navarre—Early friendship with that princess—Death of the Duke de Longueville—Letter of condolence from Catharine de Medicis—Mary of Lorraine prepares to return home—Extravagance of her ladies while at Paris—Mourning for the Duke de Longueville—Embarkation for Scotland.

MARY of Lorraine suffered intense anxiety when the galleys with their precious freight got out to sea, not only from the apprehension of their encountering the English squadrons that were watching to intercept the young Queen on her passage to France, but from the fear of her perishing in the stormy weather which set in the same evening she sailed,

and continued for several days.[1] At length the welcome news arrived that the royal little voyager had escaped the perils of winds, waves, and foes, and landed safely in the friendly harbour of Brest. In due time Mary of Lorraine had the further satisfaction of receiving the following gratifying opinion of her child in a letter from the Queen of France:—[2]

"The Queen your daughter has so much beauty, intelligence, and goodness, that it is impossible for her to have more; in fact she possesses more than is required at her age. I think she will be a great blessing to those she belongs to—and not only to them, but to every one. I assure you the King is as well satisfied with her as you can desire. As for me, if I could wish it, I could not find anything to improve in her."

No ordinary testimony is here afforded to the judicious manner in which the royal mother had conducted the early education of the infant Sovereign who had been left to her maternal care, under circumstances that, to a weak-minded woman, would have furnished an excuse for spoiling her by pernicious indulgence.

After Mary of Lorraine had deprived herself of the delightful occupation of superintending the moral and intellectual culture of her child, she endeavoured to divert her loneliness of spirit by taking a more active share in public business than she had hitherto done. At times the Governor Arran's political jealousy compelled her to keep in the background; but at other seasons, when his health and intellect appeared overwhelmed by the difficulties of his position, he appealed to her for counsel and support as to the master mind. This was especially the case in all matters connected with the defence of the realm. Never was any princess less fitted by nature to play the amazon than Mary of Lorraine: she possessed none of the courageous attributes of the warlike race from which she sprang; she could not so much as endure the sight of blood. An instance of this feminine weakness was

[1] The particulars of the voyage, and the reception of the young Queen in France, will be very fully related in the Life of Mary Stuart, in a forthcoming volume of this series of Royal Biographies.

[2] Without date, but evidently soon after Mary Stuart's arrival in France. The original is preserved in the Balcarres Collection, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

betrayed by her while residing in the nunnery at Haddington during the siege, which being her first proximity to the dread realities of war, she was persuaded one morning to ride forth with a party of French officers and Scotch nobles to reconnoitre the town. They proceeded warily by the road behind the church till they were observed by the English garrison, who saluted them with such a tempest of shot from the walls and battery that sixteen gentlemen, among whom were several of the officers of her household, were slain close to the person of the Queen, which so dismayed her Majesty that she fled precipitately, and, ere she reached her safe conventual quarters, sorely embarrassed her escort "by swooning for sorrow."[1] On her second appearance in military affairs she acquitted herself, as the fighting was all over, like a very valiantly disposed lady; for on her return from Dumbarton to Edinburgh she was greeted with the news of the brilliant success obtained by Lord Home and her countryman, Monsieur d'Essé, in cutting off the succours Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir Robert Bowes were attempting to throw into Haddington, whereat, being of an excitable temperament, she was so transported with joy that she called to horse, and, attended by her ladies and officers of state, rode down to the camp, and returned thanks not only to the commanders, but even to the private men who shared in the glory of this achievement in defence of her daughter's realm. This popular behaviour won great praise and love to her from the soldiers, who were charmed with her courteous demeanour and condescending expressions to them.[2]

Mary of Lorraine had flattered herself that the transfer of her royal daugher to the court of France would convince the English of the hopelessness of continuing the contest for a prize which was entirely out of their reach; but, to her consternation, she found that a fresh invasion of Scotland, both by sea and land, was deemed necessary by the Pro-

[1] Report by M. de St Mauris, Archives du Royaume, K. 1383, liasse B. 7, No. 47 bis, des Papiers de Simancas, printed in Pièces et Documens inédits relatifs à l'histoire d'Ecosse. Abstracts from the Hamilton State Papers.

[2] Lesley's History of Queen Mary, p. 212.

tector Somerset to satisfy the national honour of England for the contempt put on the young King, in preferring the Dauphin to himself as a husband for the little Queen.

As the plan of this work precludes any detail of military operations,[1] it may suffice to say that the English invaders this autumn did much evil to Scotland and no good to themselves, reaped little glory, and received many severe knocks. As for the French allies and German mercenaries who were sent by that illustrious champion of distressed ladies, as Brantôme entitles Henry II. of France, to the aid of his royal kinswoman, Mary of Lorraine, they had a great deal of hard fighting, and very indifferent quarters, in a country that had been cruelly devastated by the repeated visits of the aforesaid English invaders. Unfortunately, too, it happened that a lawless French soldier fell out one day in the High Street of Edinburgh with an honest Scotch smith about the repairs done to his firelock, and stabbed him; a tumult followed, in which the Provost of Edinburgh, the brave Sir James Hamilton of Stenhouse, and Sir William Stuart, one of the gentlemen in the household of the Queen-mother, were slain in the vain attempt to quell the disturbance. Many women and children also lost their lives in consequence of rashly mingling in the fray, for the French soldiers, becoming insubordinate, discharged their harquebusses on the populace. It was with the utmost difficulty that the French commanders succeeded in reducing their men to order, or the Governor, with the aid of the Queen Dowager, in allaying the wrath of the townspeople. The latter would not be pacified till the Frenchman who began the strife was hanged at the market cross; and although this was done the same day, the angry feeling towards the French was far from being removed, and broke out on other occasions. The Queen Dowager took infinite pains to compose the ominous strife on this occasion, which caused her no slight uneasiness, well knowing that she would be held accountable for the misbehaviour of her countrymen. In addition to the distress of mind caused by the wars and tumults which con-

[1] For these see Lesley, Buchanan, and Tytler's History of Scotland.

vulsed her daughter's realm, we find that the terrors of the dreadful epidemic then raging in Scotland had entered Mary of Lorraine's household, and that an illness which attacked her at this agitating period was attributed to that cause: witness the following curious entries in the Royal Compotus:—

"Item, (the Queen's Grace being suspect of the pest,) for the expenses of his Grace's eldest daughter, the Lady Barbara, [one of her ladies of honour,] for the space of eight days in Alexander Guthrie's chalmer on the Castle Hill, having with her in company three other gentlewomen, with three servants—expense incurred by them £8, 19s. 4d.—To the cook for his reward who remained with them and *grathit* [dressed] their meat, 22s. 6d. —To ane wif that cleansed their clothes, 34s."[1]

A previous notice in the same document, though of a different date, evidently bears reference to the same fact, unless the plague broke out twice that year in the Queen Dowager's household:—

"May 18.—To George Fotheringhame's wife, to ane compt of her beds, whereupon certain of the Queen's ladies lay in the Castle of Edinburgh when the infection was among them."[2]

This looks as if the beds for the use of the sick ladies in the castle were hired of Mrs Fotheringhame, and probably destroyed afterwards. The sum awarded in compensation is not stated.

The Lady Barbara Hamilton, one of the ladies of the royal household, who passed eight days in a state of sequestration in Alexander Guthrie's chamber on the Castle Hill, was the Governor Arran's eldest daughter: she was engaged to marry Lord Gordon, eldest son of the captive Earl of Huntley, Lord Chancellor of Scotland. Immediately before the alarming visit of the pestilence, she and her betrothed lover were taking lessons in French together of a certain small Frenchman in her noble father's service, who received for his reward five ells of unpressed black cloth to make him a coat, cloak, and hose, charged to the Treasury Accounts, like many other articles which had little to do with the service of either of the Queens. Witness the following:—

[1] Treasury Record in the Royal Record Office, Register House, Edinburgh. [2] Ibid.

"Item to my Lord Governor's eldest daughter, Lady Barbara, at the christening of ane bairne of the Sheriff of Linlithgow, 22s. 6d.
"Item for her to put into the Caudill."

This was the customary gratuity for the nurse, who expected every visitor to whom she handed a cup of caudle would slip a piece of money into the saucer. The fees attached to the caudle-cup at a Queen's lying-in formed a very considerable perquisite to the lady entitled to receive them.[1]

The Queen's Grace and her ladies appear in the month of December to have been entirely cleared from all pestilential suspicions, and finished the woful year of 1548 merrily by dancing at the bridal of the Governor's fair daughter, Lady Barbara Hamilton, who, on being emancipated from the quarantine *chalmer* on the Castle Hill, was wedded to her affianced lover, the young Lord Gordon. The Queen Dowager gave orders for her own tailor to make Barbara's wedding gear—the tailor's fees being paid from the royal compter, according to Compotus.

"To the Queen's tailzour, for making of three gowns of claith of siller, cramoysie valvot, and cramoysie satin, and twa kirtles of quhite satin, and red satin, and other small necessares, £4, 8s.—Item to his childer in drink-silver, 5s.—To the goldsmith, to be made up in rings, '*targattis*,' and other toys, to be given at the marriage of the Lady Barbara — one hundred and six crowns of the sun" — which the Compotus reckons as equal to £119, 5s. Scots—"to the Queen's goldsmith was given, the workmanship of 'thir' crowns of the sun quhilk were made into twelve targattis, tablets, and hearts, five pair of bracelets, and a chain of thirty rings. The cost of making, £37, 12s. 6d."

The targats enumerated among the toys and trinkets furnished by the Queen's goldsmith for the noble bride were bullion tassels for the corners of her trains, which were cut square according to the fashion of Mary of Lorraine's court. Some of the targats were of very costly

[1] This custom was not confined to Scotland and the royal Stuarts, for even in the last century the visitors who called at Buckingham Palace, to inquire after the health of Queen Charlotte and her royal infant, on such occasions, were duly invited "to taste her Majesty's caudle." Those who availed themselves of this hospitality were expected to return the compliment by putting two half-crowns into the saucer, one being the fee of the attendant by whom the caudle was presented, the other for the nurse or some other official of the royal bedchamber.

workmanship, and decorated with gold, silver, and jewelled pendants, which produced a jingling sound like a small peal of bells at every motion of the fair wearer. The degree of pride or self-consequence inherent in the privileged wearers of these aristocratic appendages, was supposed to be indicated by the grandeur of their targats and the sound they made in the antechamber of their royal mistress. About seventeen years later John Knox tilted a spiritual lance against the targats of Mary Stuart's maids of honour; but he was not in a position to volunteer unwelcome admonitions on the follies and fashions of the belles of Holyrood at this period. Sir Richard Maitland, the poetical knight of Lethington, however, took the liberty of descanting in some bitterly sarcastic lines on the dress of his fair countrywomen, complaining of what he calls their "newfangledness of gear." His "Satire on the Town Ladies" contains some rich descriptions of the costume of the court of Mary of Lorraine, and affords at the same time a curious specimen of the North British dialect and versification. Sir Richard Maitland, be it remembered, was the elder contemporary of Spenser.

SATIRE ON THE TOUN LADYES.

"Thair gouns [fou] coistlie trimlie traillis—
Barrit with velvous, sleif, nek, taillis—
And thair foirskirt of silkis seir
Of fynest camroche thair full saillis—
And all for newfangilnes of geir.

And of fyne silk thair furrit cloikis
With hingeand sleivis lyk geill-poikis[1]—
Na preiching will gar thame foirbeir
To weir all thing that sinne provoikis—
And all for newfangilnes of geir.

Thair wylie-coits man weill be hewit,
Broudrit richt braid, with pasments sewit—
I trow, quha wald the matter speir,
That thair gudmen had caus to rew it
That evir thair wyfes wair sic geir.

[1] Jelly bags.

Thair wovin hois of silk ar schawin
Burrit abone with tasteis drawin
With ganters of ane new maneir,
To gar thair courtlines be knawin—
And all for newfangilnes of geir.

Sumtyme thay will beir up thair gown,
To schaw thair wylecot[1] hingeand down;
And sumtyme baith thay will upbeir,
To schaw thair hois of blak or broun—
And all for newfangilnes of geir.

Thair collars, carcats,[2] and hals beidis,
With velvet hats[3] heicht on thair heidis,
Coirdit with gold lyik ane younkeir,
Broudit about with goldin threidis—
And all for newfangilnes of geir.

Thair schone of velvot, and thair muillis—[4]
In kirk thai ar not content of stuillis,
The sermon quhen thay sit to heir,
Bot caryis cuschings lyik vaine fuillis—
And all for newfangilnes of geir."

Quod SIR RICHARD MAITLAND
of Lethingtoun.

It is evident, from the court ladies not being content with stools at church, that such selfish innovations as pews were unknown in Scotland in the sixteenth century.

But to return to the bridal of the noble maid of honour, which unfolds too many pretty traits of the manners and customs of the court of Scotland, under the auspices of the widowed mother of Mary Stuart, to be otherwise than pleasing to our fair readers. The following quaint entries in the Compotus prove that the German band of the Rhinegrave, as well as the trumpeters of the French commander-in-chief, Monsieur d'Essé—notwithstanding the evil odour the foreigners were in, on account of the late fray between them and the townsfolk of Edinburgh—united their forces with the Queen's musicians in doing honour to the bride.

[1] Under petticoat—*wylie* meaning wool or flannel. [2] Necklaces.
[3] Resembling a boy's hat. There is a contemporary three-quarter length portrait of Mary of Lorraine in the Collection of the Earl of Beauchamp, at Madusfield Court, wearing a black hat coinciding with this description.
[4] Slippers.

"Item, to four duchemen [Dutchmen or Germans] quha with their *trumbis* playit before Lady Barbara at her incuming [coming home] fra the kirk, £11, 5s.—To Monsieur *Dessyeis* [d'Essé's] four trumpettis in nine crowns of the sun, £10, 2s. 6d.—To the Queen's violaris, ditto.—To ane fiddler playing at the marriage, 10s."

The next entry has reference to the ready money given with the bride, and the source whence it was obtained.

"Item, by my Lord-Governor's special command, given in the name of tocher with his Grace's eldest daughter Barbara, married upon the Lord Gordon, the sum of 500 marks."

Directly after this most unconscionable draft from the royal funds comes the following extraordinary charge in the form of a bribe to one of the Queen Dowager's gentlewomen—namely, the ingenious ornamenter of missals and matin-books, Helen Ross.

"Item to Helen Ross, to stanche her *bairdre* and evil tongue, £40, 5s." Not sterling pounds, we hope!

A play was composed and performed at the court in honour of my Lady Barbara's nuptials; and the author, William Lauder, received in reward, and for his expenses — probably including scenes and dresses — the sum of £40, 5s.[1] Whatever might be the subject of this drama, it is certain that the adventures of the bridegroom's father, the Earl of Huntley, who to increase the pleasure of all parties suddenly made his appearance among the guests at Holyrood on the Christmas eve, might have furnished an exciting theme for a romance. Great interest had been made to the English government for the release or exchange of this nobleman, who it will be recollected was taken at the battle of Pinkie, and, being the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, was considered a prisoner of such importance that the Protector Somerset had declared that no ransom, however large, could be accepted for him, and that his person should be detained in England till a treaty of peace were ratified on the oft-rejected terms of giving the young Queen in marriage to her royal kinsman, Edward VI. Huntley petitioned that his Countess might have permission to come and visit him in England. This favour was at length granted to the earnest solicitation of the

[1] Royal Compotus.

lady. The Earl then represented that, in consequence of the severity of the season, and the badness of the roads, it would be next to impossible for her to undertake so long a journey, and begged to be allowed to travel as far north as Morpeth, to spare her the fatigue of coming farther—she proposing to come from Edinburgh to meet him there, and tarry certain days in his company for his solace. This indulgence being conceded, or rather purchased, by the Earl pretending suddenly to become more favourably disposed to the views of the English government, he set out under the strict care and keeping of his captor, Sir Ralph Avaine, and his men-at-arms; and on the 22d of December reached Morpeth, which is only twelve miles from the Scottish border. Meantime his Countess, who was in attendance on the Queen Dowager at Holyrood, instead of keeping her appointment, contrived to give him intelligence that she had made arrangements with a bold Border squire, named George Kerr, for effecting his escape; and that the said George would be in waiting at the back of the town on the night of his arrival, with a servant and two fleet steeds—one for himself, and one for his faithful squire, John Innes—in case he should find an opportunity of slipping out to join them. After supper, the Earl sat down to play at cards with his keepers; but, being far more interested in the chances for effecting his escape than in those of the game, he rose up, went to the window, opened it, and looked forth, when, perceiving by a preconcerted signal that George Kerr was in waiting, and all things in readiness for the enterprise, and that the night was very dark, he suddenly remembered that he was a stranger unacquainted with a step of the way, and rashly gave utterance to his perplexity in the following quaint stanza of one of the rugged ditties of his native land:—[1]

"Ane mirk night,
Ane weary wight,
Ane wilsum way,
And know not where to gae—
God be my guide."

[1] Lesley's History of Scotland.

These lines suiting his own case so completely, he had no sooner repeated them than he repented of his want of caution, especially when Sir Ralph Avaine his captor, who kept a jealous watch on everything he said and did, inquired the meaning of his stave. He replied that it was an ancient Scotch adage, first spoken by the old Earl of Morton on his death-bed, and since used as a sort of proverb in that realm. Then, for removing all suspicion, he took up his cards and recommenced the game; but after a little while he gave his cards to another to play for him, while he absented himself on some plausible excuse, and as quickly as he could stole out of the back door of his lodging, with his man John Innes, where they were met by George Kerr, who safely conveyed them over the Border to his own house by Tweedside, where they rested and refreshed themselves awhile. The darkness of the night favoured the enterprise; for though Huntley was instantly missed, and the whole party at the hostelry mounted in pursuit, yet they did but wander wide of the track the bold Borderer had taken, and returned wearied and disappointed from their fruitless chase. Huntley arrived at Edinburgh on Yule eve, and was rapturously welcomed by the Queen-mother, the Governor, his Countess, and the newly-wedded pair, who were all eagerly awaiting the event of the enterprise for his escape. For joy of this event, the Christmas festivities at Holyrood were kept with greater merriness than had been the case ever since the death of King James V.—their sense of honour not being very delicate as to the Lord Chancellor's breach of his parole. [1]

Early in the new year the Queen Dowager and her court returned to Stirling, but without the Lady Barbara, who, at her departure with her husband to the north, received from the royal exchequer forty crowns of the sun, valued at £45 Scotch currency, to put in her pocket; and one Bess Murray was rewarded with eight shillings, for making the purse in which this parting gift was presented to the bride by my Lord-governor — both money and

[1] Lesley's History of Scotland.

purse being at the cost of the nation, charged as items in the Sovereign's private expenses.[1] Various small sums are there charged in payment "to ane boy with writings from and to the Queen at Stirling;" and as these writings appear, occasionally, to be on public business of importance, it is not a little surprising that such missives should be intrusted to messengers of no greater responsibility than urchins, who might have converted the royal letters into kites, or paper boats, or lost them by the way — unless, indeed, the "boy" of the Scotch Compotus was like the French *garçon*, sometimes a man of fifty years old. In April 1549, the following item—

"To ane boy direct, with ane charge to David Spens, fra the Queen and Council, charging John Barton and Captain John Hume to come to Leith with their ships at the next tide, to support the galleys of war to combat the English ships at Aberlady."

The reward accorded by the Governor Arran to the bearer of this important requisition is two shillings.

In the spring of 1559, the Queen-mother had the satisfaction of receiving a long confidential letter from Lord Erskine, one of the two Lord-Keepers who had accompanied the young Queen her daughter to France, giving a very agreeable account of his royal charge, with whom he was then sojourning at the palace of St Germains. He commences his epistle, however, with reminding the Queen-mother of her promising to reward his faithful services by using her influence to obtain the release of one of his sons from captivity in England, and the gift of the rich Abbey of Cambuskenneth for another. But, the whole letter being full of character and news, that was of great interest to his royal correspondent, cannot fail of proving a valuable illustration to the history of her life and times.

JOHN, LORD ERSKINE, TO MARY, QUEEN DOWAGER.[2]

"MADAME,—After all humble commendation of my service, I have received your Grace's divers writings, and last of all *has* received a writing dated at Edinburgh the 25th day of February, which come here to *Sainct-*

[1] Royal Compotus, Treasury Records, Register House, Edinburgh.

[2] I am indebted to my lamented friend, the late Alexander Macdonald, Esq., of the Register House, Edinburgh, for the communication of this inedited document, being one of his latest discoveries in the Royal Records

iarmyns [St Germains, where he was then abiding with his royal charge] the 28 day of March. Madame, by your Grace's divers writings, I perceive well your Grace's good mind towards me, as well *anent* the release of my son forth of England and the *dressing* of Cambuskenneth, praying your Grace to continue *thercintil*, as I doubt not but your Grace will. It will please your Grace to understand that the Queen's Grace, your dearest daughter, my Sovereign, is at a very good point, and is as wise and able a princess as is in the world of her years, which I dare assure your Grace of. The King and Queen of France both *does* her great honour, and all the noble men that are here.

"The manner and order of all the Scotch folks that are here I have sent in a memorial to my son, to be shown to your Grace, because I will not cumber your Grace by long writing. I believe your Grace has heard more of the worst of our treatment than the best. I was so vexed with infirmities that I could not come here till the Saturday before Fastroun's eve. The King, Henry II., is presently in a place of the Constable's called Jamveil passing his time, and comes here again *Pais* [at Easter.] Your Grace's father and mother [the Duke and Duchess of Guise] was departed fra the court or [before] my coming here, and *is* not returned as yet. The King makes his entrance into Paris in the beginning of May, as is said.

"Madame, your Grace's brethren, baith *Menssour de Omall* [d'Aumale] and Munssour Cardinil, [of Lorraine] are noble kind princes, and are of very good mind to satisfy Maister David Panteir,[1] if he will take it here; and the Cardinal has assured me thereof; but the said Maister David has refused to me that he will take any here.

"Madame, I find Munsour Brasse [de Brézé] here, a great courtier and in credit, who is a good kind gentleman, and siclike. Laza is a good kind person to all Scots that are here. The Constable is very great in this court; but Madame le Grand *Scheneschell, quha* is now *Dutches Waluntyrrosse*, is very grit in credit with the King."

The celebrated Diana de Poictiers, widow of Louis de Brézé, Grand Seneschal of Normandy, who had just been created Duchess de Valentinois by Henry II., is the person here indicated by the noble writer of this letter in his droll Scotch attempts at spelling French titles of honour. Mary of Lorraine would, however, have no difficulty in understanding to whom he alluded, familiar as she was with the scandals of her native court. Lord Erskine proceeds to

of Scotland, and never before published. I have modernised the orthography, and Anglicised one or two of the obsolete Scotch words, in order to render it intelligible to English readers.

[1] David Panter, Bishop of Ross, was the ambassador from Scotland to the court of France, subsequently Secretary of State to Mary of Lorraine. He was a great linguist, and one of the most able statesmen of the period. He appears, from Lord Erskine's insinuated complaints here, to have been opposed to some of the under-plots that were going on for the appropriation of church preferments through the French party.

give a shrewd hint to his royal correspondent that this lady was the channel through which anything particularly desired might be obtained of the King of France, either for herself or others: "Gif it likes your Grace to write to her anent Cambuskenneth, I think it were better we get in *any other things your Grace thought to be dressit here.*" This was one word for her Majesty, and two for himself; and by this pertinacious holding to his point he succeeded in obtaining his desire at the death of the then incumbent, Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, brother to Matthew, Earl of Lennox, during the regency of Mary of Lorraine, when his son David was appointed Abbot of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, with other of the rich temporalities of the tottering Church of Rome. He and his whole family soon after abjured the errors of that faith, and joined the Lords of the Congregation. He was the brother of the Lady Douglas of Lochleven, and uncle to her son by James V., the young Prior of St Andrews. Lord Erskine next proceeds to give her Majesty some information on public business touching the embarkation of Mareschal de Termes with more troops for the service of Scotland, and fresh pecuniary supplies, of which there was at that time great need:—

"There passes into Scotland ane gentill man callit *Munsour* de Termes, and ane treasurer, with large money and part of baith horsemen and *futmen*, but not to any very great number, and *has* men at Denmark and other countries to raise men as need bees, which your Grace's brother the Cardinal show to me.

"Madame, I am not minded to leave your Grace's dearest daughter's service to depart hastily forth of this country, nor *is* not yet right able in my person for great travel. The service I can or may sall ever be ready to your Grace, and to your Grace dearest daughter, as reason would to the uttermost of my power. Praying Almighty God to have your Grace in his blessed keeping, of *Sainct-jearmens à luit* [St Germains en Laye]. The penult day of March, by your Grace's humill and obedient sarvitour,

"JOHN, LORD ERSKINE."

Mary of Lorraine took a very active part, during the whole of that spring and summer, in animating the allied forces from France and Germany to endeavour to clear her daughter's realm from the English intruders. Several of the successes obtained may be attributed to the energetic measures which her influence induced. In June she

returned to Edinburgh for the express purpose of urging M. d'Essé to recapture her favourite isle of Inchkeith from the English, assuring him and the other commanders, that whoever would adventure that exploit would be entitled to her especial gratitude. Monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, to please her, embarked in a galley, and came within harquebus shot of the isle, and took an observation of its defences, when, perceiving that it was very weakly garrisoned, he returned and made such a report as induced de Termes, who had arrived from Dumbarton with his thirteen hundred men, to attempt the adventure. Early the next morning, a great number of boats being got together at Leith haven, the Queen Dowager came down there by break of day to see the embarkation of the troops, and to cheer them to the enterprise. An animated scene took place, it seems, according to the report of Bishop Lesley. "Ye should have seen," he says, "sic diligence used, as well of Scots as Frenchmen, to bestowe themselves aboard, that no exhortations were needed to haste them forward; but yet they wanted no comfortable words in the Queen to encourage them withal, devising with d'Essé and the other captains till they were gotten all into their vessels and ready to make sail, directing their course towards the isle with earnest wills to show the force of their valliant hearts in the recovering thereof out of their enemies' hands." The enterprise to which Mary of Lorraine had thus urged her friends was successful. Inchkeith was retaken, and the English garrison made prisoners.[1]

It has been said that d'Essé was recalled in consequence of both the Governor and Queen Dowager writing to the King of France that he wasted his time and resources in frivolous enterprises; but the correspondence of the period induces no such inference; and according to Brantôme, who had the best possible means of knowing the real state of the case, he appears to have been on a very friendly footing with the royal widow. "When King Henry II. came to the crown of France," says that agreeable chronicler,

[1] Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 228.

"he, as the protector of afflicted ladies, sent Monsieur d'Essé to Scotland as his lieutenant-general, to succour the two Queens of Scotland, mother and daughter. This was a great honour to him, for he had under his command three lords of the most princely houses, far superior to his own. There were Strozzi, and his brother the Prior of Capua, cousins of the Queen Catharine de Medicis; M. d'Andelot Rochefoulcaut, d'Estanges, Baudine, Pienne, Montferat, the Count de Rheingrave, and many others," and, above all, for the credit of our ensuing anecdote, M. de Bourdeille, the brother of the biographer Brantôme. "These gallant chevaliers performed fine exploits in this Scottish war," observes Brantôme; "but the worst was, the climate fought against them, being so severely cold that many of their soldiers lost the nails of their feet in consequence. One day," continues our chivalresque biographer, "M. d'Esse was at play with the Queen Dowager of Scotland, a very honourable and gentle princess, true sister of the Messieurs de Guise; and one can say no more in her favour, nor praise her better." Such was the opinion of a French author of that period; but the Guisian blood was the source of all this Princess's calamities, and the involuntary crime of sharing it is still mentioned to her reproach by writers of modern times. The Queen loved play, and often won, especially of M. d'Essé and the French lords; but on this particular day he piqued[1] so well that the Queen lost to him six thousand crowns. As this was all the money she had at hand, she entreated M. d'Essé to continue to play on her word for another six thousand crowns. He would not refuse, so full of courtesy and respect was he to the

[1] They were playing at piquet. M. d'Essé was advanced by M. le Constable Bourbon because of his valour and virtue. The Kings his masters knew him, and knew how well he served them. He was, in his time, equally good as a mighty man at arms, and as a gallant light horseman. Francis I. often said—"As for us, we are here four gentlemen of Guienne who combat in the lists and run at the ring against all comers and goers in France—I, Lansac, d'Essé, and Chastaigneraye." D'Essé was lieutenant under the King in Landrecy, and served him in Spain, Italy, Flanders, and Germany. He and the King of England (Henry VIII.) were friends, and great confederates. He was a soldier of fortune, for Brantôme says nothing of his genealogy, (Brantôme, Vie de M. d'Essé.) He was bedchamber gentleman to Francis I., and had from him 1200 francs per annum.

ladies. The Queen played so well that she redeemed the whole of the debt.

"Ah well, Madame," said M. d'Essé to her, "now you are quits. You have played like a great queen and liberal princess. As for me, I, as a mere gentleman, have played too lavishly; howbeit, I like better that you should esteem me as such than deem that I could act avariciously or discourteously to a princess distinguished as you are." This story is little to her credit.

It was certainly d'Essé who turned the scale of fortune in the struggle with England in favour of Scotland, and by his gallant and successful achievements mainly contributed to clear the country of the invaders. The first official mention we find of his successor, de Termes, is in a credential letter from Henry II. to his goodsister the Queen Dowager of Scotland, in which that monarch says—

"I refer to the bearers of this letter, the Mareschal de Termes and the Sieur de Fourquemaulx, to tell you all my news, as well as that relating to our little daughter the Queen of Scotland. I pray you to give the same credit to them as you would to myself." [1]

It is to be regretted that the royal writer did not enrich his letter to the Queen-mother with some of the details relating to her absent child, to which he alludes. The sayings and doings of a sovereign in her seventh year, though they may be deemed beneath the dignity of history, are generally full of the freshness and truth of nature, and are read with pleasure by many a reader who would yawn over the prosaic sameness of battles, sieges, and political dissertations. Henry II. of France did not always depute the most interesting portion of his news to his ambassadors. Being a father as well as a sovereign, he could form a pretty correct judgment of what would be most gratifying to the heart of a parent, and occasionally delighted the fond mother with very agreeable details of the sweet young Queen. The following extract is from a letter from Henry to the Queen Dowager, without date,[2]

[1] In the Balcarres MSS., Advocates' Library.

[2] From the original French, printed in the Maitland Club Miscellany, p. 219. The date 1548 is assigned to this letter by the learned editor, and

but evidently written soon after the marriage of her brother the Duc d'Aumale:—"I shall be glad to let you know, madame, my good sister, that I met at the nuptials of my cousin, the Duke of Aumale, your brother, all the ambassadors of different princes who are here with me. Of course, he of England was not absent, before whom I took the opportunity of making my son the Dauphin dance with my daughter the Queen of Scotland. As he [the English ambassador] was conferring with the ambassador of the Emperor, my cousin, the Cardinal of Guise, approached him, to whom I said—'They make a pretty sight.' And my cousin of Guise replied—'That it would be a charming marriage.' The English ambassador only said, 'He had great pleasure in looking upon them.' Yet I am assured that he never took less, and also liked as little the caresses he saw me give them. Such, madame, my good sister, are the tidings of our *petit ménage*, of which would that you made part, in order that you might share in the pleasure I receive, which may be generally said to augment day by day at seeing my daughter and yours always proceed better and better, which is the greatest contentment I can have."[1]

It is scarcely to be supposed that all the Queen-mother's correspondents on the other side the water framed their communications in so agreeable a strain as her royal ally and friend, Henry of Valois. Many were the grumbling letters she received from the noble Scotch officials in the household of her little daughter; and, among the rest, a most curious and quaint epistle from a functionary of no less importance than the young Queen's nurse, Mistress Janet Sinclair, who makes the following indignant complaints of her wrongs in language which, if it were intelligible to her royal mistress without a translation, we are sure would not be so to English readers of the nineteenth century, for

this is verified in the allusions made by the royal writer to the insurrection which broke out in Bordeaux that year, on account of the Gabelle, or salt-tax.

[1] Henry II., King of France—Maitland Club, 219. The letter is signed "Your good brother, Henry."

whose benefit we give a modern version, with parenthetic explanations.[1]

"MADAME,—Please your Grace to wit [understand] the Queen's Grace [Mary Stuart] and Monsieurs and Madames [the Duke and Duchess de Guise, and their sons and daughters] is in good prosperity and health, loving to God. Madame, I pray your Grace right humbly that ye be not discontent with me that I advertise you of the order that was made to me eight days after my Lord Erskine departed out of Blois. Madame, all the

[1] The holograph document is in the Register House; but, for the satisfaction of our antiquarian friends, we subjoin a true copy, in the veritable orthography of Mistress Janet:—

JANET SINCLAIR (NURSE TO MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS) TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER.

"MADAME,—Pleis your Grace to wit, the Quenis Grace, and Monsieuris and Madames, is in gude prosperite and heell, loving to God. Madame, I pray your Grace rycht humblie that ye be nocht discuntent with me that I aduerteis zou of the ordour that wes maid to me aucht dayis eftir my Lord Ersking depertit out of Blais. Madame, all the ordour that I had is taine fra me, bot my denner and my soupper orderit with Barb and Hagat; an' I had bene orderit with ony honnest woman, I wald nocht settin by how sowbir It had bene. Madame, Pleis your Grace, the first tyme I come in France, I wes orderit with the Lordis dochteris, and quhen the bairnis departit and zeid to Pressy be the commandiment of the Kingis Grace and Madame zour Moder, commandit Monsieur de Hunniers to gif me the order thai haif taine fra me. Madame, I beleif your Grace consideris the lang and faythfull service I haif maid to your Grace this x yeir bygaine, first to my Lord Prince your sone, and syne to the Quenis Grace zour Grace dochtir; and yet Is I willing to mak als lang Is your Grace plesis. Madame, I beleif the Kingis Grace knawis nocht this; Madame, besekand your Grace rycht humlye haif pete of me, and think weille. It salbe greit pouerte sall gar me leyf zour Grace dochtir service; but as zour Grace knawis I am cum of hounest folkis, and hes heryit my self sen my cummyn In thir partis to wphald myself to my estait, and now It is sair to me to be so fremitly handelit, nocht dowtand but zour Grace will put ordour thirto; for In gude fayth, Madame, It is nocht in my powar to serf bot forder help. I haif but xxx li Scottis, Is your Grace knawis, but ordour of fyr, candell, our ane choppyn of wyn gyf I war In necessite, refarand the rest to zour Grace plesure and commandement. Not ellis bot eternall God haif your Grace In keping. At Blais the xij day of Aprill.

"Prayand your Grace to considder how I am fournyst with money, for as zeit I haif neuer resauit the money your Grace ordeyned to gar pay my husband by Jacques Girard, besekand your Grace rycht humblie to haif consideratioun of my necessite, for I haif na body in this cumpany to plenze to except God and your Grace. Zour Graces ansuer heirof I humblie I zou beseik.

"Be zouris humble and obeissant seruant,
Jaine Syncler, nureis to our Soueraine
Lady zour Graces dochtir, the Quenis
Grace of Scotland."

Addressed on the back—"To the Quenis Grace In Scotland." From the original in the General Register House.

order [rule and authority] that I had is taken from me, but my dinner and my supper is ordered with Barb and Hagat," [Agathe.]

Meaning that she was compelled to sit down to dinner with two persons so named—apparently French, from their names—and, to judge by Janet's indignant inuendo, not suitable company for her, for she observes—

"An I had been ordered with any honest woman, I would not settin' by her [held her in disesteem] howsoever it had been. Madame, please your Grace, the first time I came in France [meaning on her first arrival] I was ordered with the lords' *daughters*, [placed to take her meals at the same table with her royal foster-child's young maids of honour—the four Maries—and to occupy the like apartments,] and when the bairnes departed and went to Poissy by the commandment of the King's Grace, Madame your moder commanded Monsieur de Hummieres to give me the order they have takin fra me. Madame, I believe your Grace considers the long and faithful service I have made to your Grace these ten years bygone, first to my Lord Prince your son, and since to the Queen's Grace your Grace's daughter; and yet is I willing to make as long as your Grace pleases. Madame, I believe the King's Grace knows not this.

"Madame, beseeching your Grace right humbly, have pity of me, and think well it shall be great poverty shall *gar* [make] me leave your Grace's daughter's service; but, as your Grace knows, I am come of honest folks, and has harried myself since my coming in those parts to uphold myself to my estate, and now it is *sair* to me to be so *fremitly* [strangely] handled, not doubting but your Grace will put order thereto, [give proper directions for different treatment,] for in good faith, Madam, it is not in my power to serve without further help. I have but £30 Scots, as your Grace knows."

Very poor salary for a reigning sovereign's nurse, even if the "*punds Scots*" had been pounds sterling; but in this reign they represented crowns instead of the beggarly twenty-pence into which pounds Scots subsequently diminished. Therefore Mistress Jane Sinclair's wages amounted to seven pounds ten per annum. She thus proceeds with her complaints:—

"Without order of fire, candle, or one choppyn[1] of wine if I were in necessity—referring the rest to your Grace's pleasure and commandment. The Eternal God have your Grace in his keeping. At Blois, the xij day of April.

"Praying your Grace to consider how I am furnished with money, for as yet I have never received the money your Grace ordained to gar pay my husband by Jacques Gerard; beseeching your Grace right humbly to have consideration of my necessity, for I have nobody in this company to

[1] Equal to an English quart.

plain to except God and your Grace. Your Grace's answer hereof I humbly you beseech.

"By your humble and obedient servant, Jaine Syncler, nureis to our Sovereign lady your Grace's daughter, the Queen's Grace of Scotland.

Addressed on the back, "To the Queen's Grace in Scotland."

Janet Sinclair's boast that she came of honest folks implies not only that her parentage was virtuous, but of good degree. She was probably a near relation to Oliver Sinclair, the favourite gentleman of the bedchamber to James V., and owed her appointment as nurse to the first-born son of the King and Queen, Prince James, to the influence of that powerful courtier. Janet's family pride is testified by the fact that, although she was the wife of John Kemp of Haddington, who was the recipient, like herself, of sundry grants of lands under the Royal Privy Seal, she never condescended to assume his name, but retained her highly valued patronymic, intimating that she was of the "lordly line of high St Clare, meet nurse for her Sovereign lady." The Privy-Seal Registers prove that Mary of Lorraine guerdoned Janet with repeated grants of lands.[1]

The Lord James, Prior of St Andrews, who had accompanied the young Queen to France, with leave and licence from the university to attend the *sculis* (schools) in France, returned this spring, being, we may presume, tired of study, and eager to engage in scenes more congenial to his aspiring temperament than book-learning. He was so fortunate as not only to distinguish himself in the signal defeat given to the English troops, who had attempted to surprise St Monan's in the month of June 1549, but to arrogate to himself the whole credit of the victory, which in reality was due to the brave Laird of Wemyss. That gentleman having been compelled to retire from the camp on account of ill health, did good service to his country by keeping a strict observation on the proceedings of the English ships in the Firth. One night he perceived by their lights that

[1] The young Queen, subsequently, in a letter to the Queen her mother, mentions Mistress Janet and her spouse by the names of Jahan Camp and Johanne St Clare, as having transferred a mortgage held by them on the lands and seigneurys of Alexander Achison to Captain Cockburn, so that it is plain that the services of Mary Stuart's nurse were well rewarded. For the royal letter on this subject, see Labanoff Collection, vol. i. p. 38, No. 24.

some enterprise was intended, and, proceeding with his servants to the town of St Monan's, he armed all the men he could get together, amounting in all only to six score; but fortunately the women and children, being valiantly disposed, determined to lend their aid in the defence of their town. Lord Wemyss took them at their word, and ambushed them in certain trenches with the men in front, forming a rear guard, the weakness of which was not suspected by the foe. They had but three small pieces of artillery, which, however, were so actively served that they did great execution on the invaders, who were far from expecting so warm a reception. Lord Wemyss had ordered all the straw rags and rubbish that could be collected to be fired at various distances, to make a dense smoke, in order to create confusion, and obscure their assailants' view when the day broke. They discharged their arrows with deadly execution as soon as it was light enough to take aim among the English troops; and then, finding the foes beginning to give way, men, women, and children scrambled out of the trenches with hideous yells —the men always in front, to keep a formidable appearance. The English, fancying the whole strength of the country was upon them, fled with precipitation. Out of a thousand men who had landed, scarcely three hundred succeeded in escaping with their lives.[1] The admiral himself with difficulty gained his ship, and, ordering sails to be hoisted, the whole fleet sheered off, and delivered the coast of Fife from the terror of their presence. Many of the fortresses of Scotland were recovered from the captors in the course of this summer.

A few brief notices of the movements of Mary of Lorraine may be gathered from the English correspondence of the period, implying that she was regarded as a leading power in the state, though without recognised authority. "The plague being great in Edinburgh, the Queen lieth at Holyrood House; the Governor gone to Dunfermline."[2]

[1] Lesley. Lindsay of Pitscottie.

[2] Sir J. Holcroft to Somerset, July 24, 1549—Cotton MS. Calig. B. vii. fol, 398.

The fair Dowager had found means to detach the Douglas faction once more from their traitorous alliance with England. "I know," pursues our authority, "George Douglas hath made promise to the Queen[1] that there shall no man stir in England against Scotland but she shall know of it." From the next report we learn that Monsieur de Termes had waited upon the Queen-mother at Holyrood, and that active measures were going on for the expulsion of the English. Holcroft, the English general, expresses his ardent hope of being able to burn Peebles and other places which had hitherto escaped their destructive fury. In September the Dowager had removed to Falkland.[2] The French and German mercenaries were mutinous on account of bad provision, want of shoes, and arrears of wages; d'Essé and the Rhinegrave were reduced to deliver their gold chains and other ornaments and jewels in pledge to them, as an earnest of payment as soon as the promised supplies from France should arrive. "I am informed," writes Sir Thomas Holcroft to Somerset, "the Queen shall lie at Stirling or Dumbarton. George Douglas would have gone into France, ambassador, if he might have had the making of the commission, which the Queen would not agree unto. The Queen and George Douglas have laboured much to have the Governor to go to France; but the Abbot of Paisley and the Hamiltons have answered plainly he shall not go out of Scotland." Holcroft concludes by saying: "It is thought the Queen will go herself to France."

This is the first hint we have of the desire of the royal widow to visit her native land, the abode of her parents, brethren, sisters, and above all, her children. If, however, she had fixed her mind on enjoying that pleasure at the present season, she was compelled to alter her plans and take a journey on less agreeable business, the nature of which is explained by the following passage in Holcroft's despatch to the Duke of Somerset: "The

[1] Illustrations of the Reign of Mary. Maitland Miscellany. Letters from Holcroft to Somerset.

[2] Ibid.

Prior of St Andrews hath driven Monsieur Chapelle and all the French from St Andrews and out of Fife, and some of the French are slain, and part of the Scots. The Queen is gone unto St Andrews to appease the matter. I hear but of little welcome she is."[1] This record is of twofold historic importance, because it both indicates the energetic manner in which Mary of Lorraine exerted herself in all cases of dissension between her countrymen and the Scotch, to compose differences and restore amity; and it fixes the date of the earliest disturbance openly incited by the said Prior of St Andrews. This young ecclesiastic, who afterwards played so distinguished a part in the secular affairs of Scotland as James Stuart, Earl of Moray, was the handsomest, the most talented, and the best-beloved of the illegitimate sons of James V. of Scotland. His mother, the daughter of Lord Erskine, had been wedded against her will to Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven; but her enamoured sovereign took her from her husband, and wrongfully detained her from him till after the birth of her eldest son. When Lady Douglas drew near her time, she dreamed that she brought forth a dragon which twisted itself about the head of a lion, and at last vanquished and got it under its feet. As the lion was the cognisance of the Sovereign of Scotland, the dream was interpreted in a manner very flattering to the maternal ambition of the royal concubine, who was told she would bear a son who would obtain the regal authority. Neither mother nor son ever forgot this interpretation, or omitted anything likely to lead to its accomplishment.[2] History and the records of private life also abound with proofs how often auguries of the kind have given a determined bias to a character, and thus, without any fatalism, have led to their own fulfilment. But for the guilty license of James V., Lady Douglas would have had no dreams that could have induced a son of hers to fancy himself destined to exercise the regal power of Scot-

[1] Illustrations of the Reign of Mary.

[2] Crawfurd's Memoirs. Thuanus, vol. i., B. 29, p. 1562. Martyre de Marie Stuart in Gibb's Collections.

land, nor any temptation to labour to undermine the throne of the lawful Sovereign. By appointing this boy Prior of St Andrews when only seven years old, and thus devoting him to a life of celibacy, James V. fancied of course that he had taken effectual measures for preventing the verification of this oracular dream, and the chance of his princely issue, by Mary of Lorraine, being supplanted by "the offspring of his wayward youth." But the awful denunciation that the sins of the father shall be visited on the children was doomed to be fulfilled, by the fatal influence which this illegitimate scion of the royal stem produced on the fortunes of the hapless heiress of King James's throne.

By what means the widowed Queen succeeded in suppressing the insurrectionary movement her aspiring stepson had excited in St Andrews no authentic record relates; but it was probably by dint of bribery or flattering promises that she rendered him quiescent for a season, as we find that he, malgré his ecclesiastical profession, was permitted, January 1549-50, to enter into a contract of marriage with Christian, the wealthy heiress of the Earl of Buchan, whom he subsequently defrauded of her estates, and deserted.[1] He also obtained, through the influence of the Queen-mother, the rich priory of Pittenweem.

The destructive warfare which for seven years had desolated Scotland, and exhausted the resources of England, without conducing to the glory or political advantages of either realm, terminated to the comfort of both in the spring of 1550, by Scotland being included in the treaty of peace between Henry II. of France and Edward VI. of England. This pacification was, with the exception of the extended privileges accorded to the Scotch merchants, seamen, and fish exporters, the only important benefit Scotland derived from her adherence to the French alliance, which had cost her so dear.[2]

The peace was proclaimed in Edinburgh, April 22—glad announcement to all within the realm, but to no one more

[1] For a full account of this dishonourable transaction see Chalmers's Life of the Earl of Moray, and the Privy-Seal Registers.

[2] Public Acts—Peace of Boulogne.

welcome than to the widowed mother of the young Sovereign. Mary of Lorraine wrote on the following day to her royal child, communicating her intention of undertaking a voyage to France that summer to see her son, the Duke de Longueville, her parents, and all her kindred and friends. This intimation was received by the little Queen with the most lively demonstrations of pleasure—an absence of less than two years not having obliterated the remembrance of maternal affection from her heart.[1]

Among the relics of the confidential correspondence between the noble Scotch attendants of Mary Stuart and the Queen-mother, an original letter of Alexander, the fifth Lord Livingstone, one of the two Lord-Keepers who attended their young Sovereign to France, has recently been discovered. Like that previously quoted from his colleague, Lord Erskine, it is a pleasing specimen of the courtly letter-writing of the sixteenth century. He tells his royal correspondent, whom he addresses with the usual ceremonials of respect, that he is "*gritly* desirous to return to Scotland for some necessary business, having remained at his post almost two years;" and this certifies that it was written in the spring of 1550.

"Not," says he, "that I tire of the Queen's Grace's service, my Sovereign lady, for it is one of the things I esteem most to have her Grace's presence daily; but allanerlie because the natural affection of the country, and certain other commodities which I am bound to regard for the weal of my house and friends, makes me to write this present unto your Grace, by the which I pray your Grace let me have your good-will hereto, and write again to the King's Highness, and to my Lord Cardinal and Duke of Guise, that they find not my returning evil, but that I have their good-will thereto."

The noble writer proceeds to inform his royal correspondent—

"That Monsieur de Brézé, the bearer of the letter, has been 'ane gude servand to your dearest dochter the Queen, and ay ready to do us all pleasure that is in her Grace's companie, the quhilk I doubt not your Grace will thank him therefor.'"[2]

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[1] Letters of Mary Stuart, Labanoff Collection, 2d Suppl. vol. i.

[2] The original of this curious unpublished letter is in the General Register House, Edinburgh. It is dated "St Germains, the 25th day of April."

Mary of Lorraine had kept up a constant correspondence with her daughter and her instructors, and, though at a distance, continued to superintend her education with unremitting care, and to direct all her domestic arrangements.[1] The heart of the fond mother was cheered from time to time with the most gratifying accounts of the fair promise and happy disposition of this precious object of her solicitude, not only from the confidential letters of the princes and princesses of her own family, but in the official communications of the King of France to the Governor and Estates of Scotland, coupled with deserved compliments to herself on the good foundation she had laid for the future excellence of her daughter, by her judicious training in her tender infancy.

One of those agreeable messages is thus noticed for reply in the instructions given to the Master of Erskine on his return to the court of France, at a sederunt of the Scottish Privy Council, April 22, 1550.:[2] "The said Master of Erskine shall report to the King how rejoiced the Queen's Grace and my Lord-governor were of the news of our Sovereign lady's welfare, and to hear that the King's Highness was so well contented with her, and that she was so well able to increase in virtue, and that the King's Grace takes such consolation, seeing the beginning of her up-bringing to have been so good that he hopes to see his son the husband of one of the most virtuous *Princes* [meaning Sovereigns] that men can desire." After this recapitulation of the King of France's words, Mary of Lorraine, the Lord-governor, and the Council unite in assuring that monarch that they "beseech God of his infinite goodness that his Highness the King may see naught but only the thing that his noble heart desires, but also that their Sovereign Lady be after this so endued with the graces of God that she may make his Highness the *gudesire* [grandfather] of one of the most victorious *Princes* in the world, and King to reign long and prosperously over both the realms."[3]

[1] Letters of Mary Stuart, Labanoff Collection, 2d Suppl. vol. i.
[2] Keith's Appendix, book i. p. 62. [3] Ibid.

Mary of Lorraine's brother, the Marquis of Maine, who had been one of the three noble hostages given by the King of France in pledge for the payment of the sum for which the commissioners of Edward VI. had sold Boulogne, having received his liberty after liquidation of that debt, took the opportunity of visiting his royal sister, whom he had not seen since her second marriage. The following entries in the Royal Compotus indicate that the young French Prince was duly fêted at the court of Scotland.

"Item, five ells of French green to cover the forms and stools the day of the banquet to Monsieur Marquiss, the Queen's brother, £3, 3s."

Charges are made in the next item "for tacks to hang the tapestry the day of my Lord-governor's banquet to Marquiss de Maine.—To certain Frenchmen who played on the cornets, £6, 18s."

The banquets and rejoicings with which Mary of Lorraine welcomed her brother were almost immediately cut short by the painful and unexpected intelligence of their father's death.[1]

Greatly afflicted at the loss of her parent, the widowed Queen retired to her palace of Linlithgow to indulge her grief in the deepest seclusion for a while. The following quaint entries in the Royal Compotus afford evidence that a court mourning took place on that occasion:—

"*May* 16, 1550.—After the incoming of the word in Scotland of the decease of the Queen's father, to buy a *doole* coat and cloth cloak to my Lord-governor.—Item, at the Queen's Grace coming to Linlithgow the

[1] Claude of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, was suddenly attacked with a mortal illness at Fontainebleau: the report went that he was poisoned. He caused himself to be transported to his chateau of Joinville, and there, after some days of mortal suffering, when surrounded by all his family save the widowed Queen of Scotland, perceiving his last moment was near, he said to his afflicted wife, "I know not whether the person who administered the morsel which caused my death be high and mighty or of lowly degree; but if that person were here present, and I knew his name, I would neither accuse him or name him, but would pray for him, and do him good if I could, and pardon him my death with as good a heart as my Saviour pardons me my sins." He gave his benediction to his weeping family, raised himself to receive the communion on his knees, and expired at the age of fifty-five years in 1550. Under the idea of atoning for the sins of his youth, he wore a bracelet armed with points of iron—an imitation of the expiatory iron belt of James IV.—Vatout's History of the Chateau d'Eu.

time of the doole, to be ane gown to my Lord-governor's son Claud."[1]

This little Lord Claud Hamilton was probably the godson of Mary of Lorraine, as he was named after her father.

Scotland being now at peace with all the world, the Queen-mother, touched with compassion for the sufferings of the Scotch prisoners who had remained in the French galleys and fortresses ever since the capture of the castle of St Andrews in July 1547, interceded with the King of France, through her all-powerful uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, to obtain their release. In consequence of her benevolent intervention, they were not only restored to their liberty and permitted to return to their native land in peace, but recovered their estates.[2] Knox, who records the fact, is careful to deprive her of the slightest merit for the pains she had taken to accomplish this work of feminine compassion by the following comment: "Howsoever, it was God made the hearts of their enemies to set them at liberty and freedom." The mystery in which Knox leaves the manner of his own deliverance renders it probable that he was himself among the number of those who were indebted to the good offices of this Princess for enfranchisement from the grievous bondage of their foreign captors. "She restored some of those who were guilty of the Cardinal's death, and was laughed at for her pains," observes Lord Herries at a subsequent period of chronology.[3]

The Governor Arran, being relieved from the terrors of the English, sank into a state of lethargic indolence, allowing himself to be as much swayed by his able but unprincipled brother, the Archbishop of St Andrews, as he had formerly been by his uncle Cardinal Beton. Through the evil influence of the Archbishop, persecutions for heresy were renewed, judicial murders committed, and unjust and

[1] Treasury Records, General Register Office, Edinburgh—2d July 1550.
[2] Knox's History of the Reformation.
[3] Fragment History of Queen Mary, edited and privately printed by Robert Pitcairn, Esq.

oppressive fines inflicted,[1] "whereat," says Lindsay of Pitscottie, "God moved the Queen's Grace to be miscontent with the bishops' and kirkmen's proceedings. Thinking that her time was but short therefore, she prevented it, and passed hastily to France." Our quaint chronicler, who, by the bye, is no great friend to Mary of Lorraine, certainly implies in this passage that she considered it expedient for her own personal safety to make a precipitate retreat from Scotland, where her great influence with a considerable section of both lords and commons rendered her an object of jealousy to the unpopular Governor, and the bold bad prelate his brother. By the advice of d'Oysell, and others of the French gentlemen who had remained in Scotland after the departure of the troops, she sent to Henry II. for galleys and a suitable convoy for her voyage to France. That monarch wrote to Edward VI. with his own hand, (July 23, 1550,) requesting, as a particular favour to himself, that Edward would grant a safe-conduct to—

"Our very dear and well beloved sister, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, who meditates," he says, "taking a voyage into our country to visit us, and to see the Queen of Scotland, our little daughter, if she could do it without inconvenience to herself, or incurring any suspicion; therefore, we do most heartily entreat of you, as you would do a kindness to us, to grant her free passage of your country through your dominions, if necessary, and we will do anything in our power in return that you may require of us when occasion serves."[2]

Edward accordingly granted a safe-conduct, signed and sealed by himself, for the galleys sent by the King of France for the convoy of the Queen Dowager of Scotland, both going and returning, with leave for her and her attendants to land, if necessary, and repose herself, to take in fresh water and provisions, and that without any cost or payment—for all refreshments were *to be at King Edward's expense.*[3]

[1] Buchanan. Lindsay of Pitscottie. Knox.

[2] Printed in Pièces et Documens Inedits, relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse.

[3] The order in council for this document is dated August 3, 1550, and a copy is preserved in the Archives of France, headed "Pour le Sauf-conduit de la Royne douairière d'Ecosse."

Early in September, six galleys and other French ships, under the command of Leon Strozzi, the military Prior of Capua, arrived at Newhaven, for the purpose of conveying the Dowager of Scotland to France.[1] She had invited a numerous and distinguished company of the nobles of Scotland to attend her to that court, in order to partake in the fêtes and rejoicings which were preparing in honour of her visit to her native land, and to see and pay their duty to their young Queen. Mary of Lorraine took with her not only her old and faithful friends, to whom she had promised rewards and honours from her powerful kinsman, the King of France, but many who had given her cause of uneasiness and alarm — those whom she feared to leave in Scotland, lest they should create fresh disturbances— and trusted, by a taste of the pleasures of France, to wean from the English party, and to render subservient to her project of superseding the Earl of Arran in the regency. She had the eldest son of that great noble with her, whom she held as a sort of hostage for the loyalty of the house of Hamilton during her absence. Among those who attended her were the Earl of Huntley, the Earls Mareschal, Cassillis, and Sutherland, the Prior of St Andrews, the Lords Home, Fleming, and Maxwell, and Sir George Douglas, with the Bishops of Galloway and Caithness, a brilliant train of ladies, and the French commanders Biron, De la Chapelle, M. de Termes, d'Oysell, and others of her countrymen who had assisted in clearing Scotland from her unwelcome English guests.[2] The illustrious voyager embarked at Leith on the 7th of September, with her incongruous retinue, in high spirits. She must have trusted to her own soothing manners and powers of conciliation, if she had hoped to keep the jarring elements she carried with her from coming to a fiery collision like flint and steel every time they met. The voyage was tedious and stormy, the vessels were several times driven by stress of weather

[1] Lesley's History of Mary.

[2] Lesley's History of Mary. Tytler. Knox. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, vol. iii. p. 248.

into the English ports, where, according to the directions contained in King Edward's safe-conduct, they were admitted to refuge, and received assistance in various ways, as in a friendly land—which courtesies were gratefully acknowledged by Mary of Lorraine. The voyage to the coast of Normandy occupied no less than twelve days. The port in which she landed is generally stated to have been Dieppe; but an official letter, from the celebrated Constable de Montmorenci to the French minister at the court of Hungary, proves that this was a mistake. He says, "The Queen of Scotland arrived three or four days ago at Havre-de-Grace in good health, and in very good company. She made her entry into Rouen yesterday. On Sunday next she comes to meet the King at the Abbey de Bonnes Nouvelles, where he goes to-morrow to sleep and keep the festival of St Michael. After this the lords will come and speak to her."

The proximity of Tancarville Castle, the feudal fortress of the Dukes of Longueville, to Havre, affords cogent reason for the supposition that the Constable Montmorenci was correct in his statement that Mary of Lorraine landed at that port. She would be received there by her son, the Duke de Longueville, now in his fifteenth year, whom she had not seen since his infancy; and it was one of the great objects of her voyage to renew her maternal influence with that young Prince, as well as with her royal daughter of Scotland. Mary of Lorraine landed on the 19th of September, and did not arrive at Rouen till six days later. She would naturally pass the interval with her first-born, in the old familiar towers of Tancarville. The noble followers of Mary of Lorraine proved, as might have been expected, by no means agreeable travelling-companions. They wrangled with each other incessantly on their own private piques and feuds during the voyage; but when they arrived at Rouen, their royal mistress was still more troubled by their misbehaviour, of which an inimical looker-on was ready to make notes. This was Sir John Mason, resident English envoy, who had followed the King of France to meet his royal guest: he gives the following

account of Mary of Lorraine's arrival:[1] "I have to-day visited the Scottish Queen, who, with a great train of her nobles, arrived at Rouen, September 25. She was received with much honour by the King of France, and almost worshipped as a goddess by the court.[2] But the principal Scots fill all this court with brawling, chiding, and fighting for their lodgings, and other quarrels amongst themselves." Mason says, speaking of his interview with Mary of Lorraine, "that he delivered to her the congratulations of his master, Edward VI., on her safe journey, and his hopes of her favourable inclinations towards the continuance of the peace between England and France. She took his visitation right favourably, and prayed him to yield her thanks to King Edward; for by reason of his most gentle passport, and the good entertainment she got in his ports by his commandment, she had made her journey thus happily."[3]

Mary of Lorraine enjoyed the satisfaction of meeting her fair young daughter, the Queen of Scotland, at Rouen, improved in grace, beauty, and intelligence. The little Queen had been provided by some pedantic preceptor with a long and elaborate speech of welcome, to address to her royal mother on this occasion; but Mary of Lorraine, unable to control her feelings at the sight of the child, snatched her to her bosom, and caressed her with tearful fondness, unrestrained by the presence of the French Sovereign and his court. The French, however, being an excitable people, are never ashamed of betraying tokens of sensibility on such occasions; and even some of the rough northern knights and nobles are reported to have yielded to unwonted softness, at witnessing this scene. When composure was restored, the juvenile Sovereign delivered her speech with laudable gravity, inquiring into the welfare of her realm, and all degrees of her loving lieges, and expressing her zeal for the prosperity of the church, with sundry other observations which never would have entered

[1] State Paper Letter — Mason to the English Council, October 6, 1550, Rouen.

[2] State Paper Letter, February 23, 1550-1. [3] Ibid.

the thoughts of a little girl of eight years old, however precocious her reflective powers might be. After concluding her address to her royal mother, she turned with no slight assumption of infantine majesty to the Scotch nobles, and exhorted them "to be mindful of their duty to their country, and faithful to their church; and suggested the propriety of their uniting in suitable expressions of gratitude to the King of France, for the protection he had accorded to herself and her realm."

Among the various complimentary demonstrations with which Mary of Lorraine and her royal daughter were welcomed at Rouen, a triumphal arch was erected for them to pass under, preceded by a quaint pageant procession, devised expressly in their honour, though apparently of a heavy incongruous character. First came a chariot drawn by unicorns, supporters of the royal arms of Scotland; then a pair of elephants, each bearing on his back a litter filled with ladies, nymphs, and goddesses, followed by Religion in a triumphal car, holding aloft a church: next came the Virgin Mary with the infant Saviour. Then the car of Fortune, with proxy representations of the King of France and his little son, the Dauphin. Neptune accompanied by Amphitrite, and attended by Tritons and sea-monsters, brought up the rear.

All was splendour and festivity during the sojourn of Mary of Lorraine at Rouen with the King of France. Her son, the Duke de Longueville, as the hereditary constable, chamberlain, and mareschal of Normandy, was of course in attendance on his Sovereign, and frequently in her company, as well as her royal daughter, Mary of Scotland, who was the darling of the King of France, and the idol of the whole court. Henry II. kept the feast of the order of St Michael with great solemnity on the 29th of September, for the express purpose of admitting the Earl of Huntley as a knight-companion. Mary of Lorraine and her daughter were both present at the ceremonial. The honours paid by Henry to the Earl of Huntley were to reward him for the good services he had rendered to the two Queens. Such flattering attentions were offered by that monarch to the

noble followers of the Dowager that he completely won their hearts, and was considered the most loving King to Scotchmen that had been known for centuries.[1]

From Rouen, Mary of Lorraine accompanied the French court to Paris with her royal daughter, and afterwards to Chartres and Blois, being received with signal honours and acclamations wherever she appeared. At Blois she spent the winter in the society of her beloved child and her kindred. It was while stationary with the French court in that city that Mary of Lorraine arranged her plans with her brothers, the Duke de Guise and the two Cardinals, for supplanting the Earl of Arran in the regency of Scotland—a project which, through the powerful assistance of the King of France, and his liberal bribes and promises, she was subsequently enabled to carry triumphantly into execution. She had another political object of a far bolder character in view, being neither more nor less than the annexation of Ireland to the crown of Scotland. The idea of stirring up revolts in Ireland, in order to distract the attention of the English government from the subversion of Scotland, had originated with this Princess, as a measure of national expediency, during the invasion of the Duke of Somerset; and though without power to carry her wish into execution, she had, at her own personal expense, employed spies and agitators to inflame the minds of the native chieftains. These quiet exertions had wellnigh produced a revolution before her intrigues were even suspected. Through the treachery of some of her Scotch confidants, Sir John Mason, the English ambassador at the court of France, obtained timely information of what was in agitation. He communicated the peril to the lords of the council in this terse, but not very grammatical sentence: "Ireland is ready to revolt, and deliver *themselves* to a new master on a moment's warning."[2] Mary of Lorraine had engaged the Earl of Argyll to assist her Irish confederates, the O'Connors and Geraldines; and she was importunate with the King of France to aid them with money and men, in return for which they had promised to

[1] Lesley's History of Mary, p. 236.
[2] Mason to the Privy Council, 4th December, 1550.

proclaim the Dauphin and Mary Stuart King and Queen of Ireland and Scotland. Henry was too cool a calculator to view the chances of success in the sanguine colours with which his royal kinswoman dressed this romantic project. Her influence in his court and cabinet was, however, so great as to be regarded with uneasiness by the English ambassador, who writes on the 23d of February 1550—

"The Queen of Scots and her house beareth in this court the whole swing; and again the Queen Dowager desireth the whole subversion of England. Her service in Scotland is so highly taken here, as in this court she is made a goddess."[1] She had her vexations, nevertheless, in consequence of the unmannerly behaviour of certain of the Scotch nobles who had attended her to the court of France, in the hope of improving their fortunes, and considered themselves injured persons in not being so largely *propined* as their compeers, so that great jealousies arose. Not only did the fair Dowager find it impossible to compose the quarrels which broke out among them, but she was herself treated with great insolence by more than one of the malcontents while she was at Amboise. Infinite pleasure has Sir John Mason in reporting the following particulars obtained from Kirkaldy of Grange, who, through the recommendation of that worthy secret-service-man of the English government, Master Henry Balnaves, was playing the honourable office of spy and reporter of the proceedings of the mother of his Sovereign and his countrymen to the King of England's ambassador, then at Amboise:[2] "The Earl of Huntley hath obtained some piece of his suit, which is, when the Queen (Mary of Scots) cometh of age, for his having the earldom of Murray. The Earls of Sutherland and Cassills be against him herein. The Queen Dowager is all for herself and a few *other* of her friends, whose partiality maketh a great heart-burning among them. The Lord Maxwell, at his departing, had a chain worth five hundred crowns. Drumlanrig, who departed at the same time, had nothing: very rude speech he used, at his leave-

[1] Mason to the English Council, dated April 1551, Amboise.
[2] Mason's Correspondence, State Paper Office.

taking, to the Queen."[1] It seems he wished, as the climax of his displeasure, "that he had broken his leg when he went out of his house to accompany her to France." It was an odd coincidence that this very accident befel him as he went on board ship for his homeward voyage.[2]

Mary of Lorraine had made all the necessary preparations for her homeward voyage, when she and every one about her, as well as the King of France, were filled with horror and alarm by the discovery of a plot against the life of the harmless little Queen of Scots, her daughter. This atrocious design was denounced to the French minister on the 18th of April 1551, by a gentleman of the name of Henderson, attached to the household of the Duke of Somerset, but at that time resident in Paris. He deposed that Robert Stuart, an archer in the King of France's Scotch Guards, who was his acquaintance, and the son of a Scotch baron taken at St Andrews, and only recently released from his chains in the French galleys, designated in the French document Lord de Rose, (query, Rosythe?) had confided to him his intention of removing the little Queen by poison—he having formed an intimacy with the officers of her kitchen for the purpose of discovering which dishes she preferred, so that he trusted soon to be able to execute his design, which, he said, "would be the means of placing the Earl of Lennox, who was well affected to the reformed faith, on the throne of Scotland, by removing the only bar between him and that succession."[3]

The French minister placed Henderson under arrest, and despatched an especial envoy to Greenwich, to declare the matter to the Earl of Warwick, who was then at the head of the English government. Stuart, who had fled to England on the first alarm of his denouncement, was taken into custody. Being examined at Greenwich, he confessed having seriously conspired the death of the little Queen of Scotland, and that for the purpose of placing his friend, the Earl of Lennox, on the throne. The Earl of Warwick declared, "that the Earl

[1] Mason's Correspondence, State Paper Office. [2] Ibid.
[3] Pièces et Documens relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse. Printed in the unpublished vol. of the Bannatyne Club.

of Lennox was by far too honourable a gentleman to have encouraged such a plot," adding, "that he was married to the near relation of his master the King of England, who would hold such a wicked project in abhorrence." He also stated "that Henderson was a great enemy of the Earl of Lennox, and had probably endeavoured to injure him by this pretended implication of his name in Stuart's wicked design." At another examination, Stuart named the Lord d'Aubigny, Lennox's brother, as cognisant of the design. Again, the Earl of Warwick defended both brothers as incapable of such atrocity; but after all, Warwick, who is better known in history as the unscrupulous Duke of Northumberland, whose design was to place his son on the throne of England, by marrying him to the Lady Jane Grey, might have no serious objection himself to the death of the little Queen of Scots, the rightful and legitimate heiress of the elder female line of Henry VII., and by that means to remove the Earl and Countess of Lennox from competing with the claims of the Grey family to the throne of England, by conniving at their elevation to that of Scotland. The after-conduct of all the parties gives singular weight to the confessions of Henderson and Robert Stuart.[1] Robert Stuart was carried back to France, where he was tried, condemned, and executed for the crime on his own confession, which was finally made in the presence of Henry II.[2] The idea of the danger which had impended over her child so greatly agitated the royal mother as to produce a serious illness. "The old Queen," writes Mason to his own government, "is fallen suddenly sick, upon the opening of this news unto her."[3]

Mary of Lorraine was, doubtless, attended by the cele-

[1] Letters of the Constable of France, and the French ambassador at the Court of England.—Printed in Pièces et Documens Inedits, relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse, in a single copy for the Bannatyne Club.

[2] Henry II. of France, in a confidential letter to his ambassador, dated June 6, 1551, says in reference to the design of Robert Stuart to poison the little Queen of Scotland, "All I can tell you is, that I have just received the confession made at Calais by that wretched Scotchman who has arrived here two days ago, and hope shortly to get out of him the truth respecting that wicked and abominable conspiracy."—Printed in Pièces et Documens Inedits.

[3] State Paper MS.

brated Scotch physician Ramsay, who, having left his native country, for the purpose of improving his great medical talents in foreign universities, had acquired a high reputation on the Continent for his skill and learning, and had been for many years resident at the court of Turin. But when he heard of the arrival of the Scotch Queen-mother in France, he left all his Italian patients, and hastened to Paris to request the honour of being permitted to attend her and her whole company gratis, "moved," as he declared, "by the love he bore his own country, and his reluctance to allow the widow of his late Sovereign, and her ladies, to incur the peril of taking medicines prescribed and prepared by foreigners, lest their lives should be endangered either by evil drugs or the unlearned mixture thereof." The services of this patriotic North British Esculapius were graciously accepted by Mary of Lorraine, and he remained in her train during her residence on the Continent.[1]

The English ambassador, in the same letter that notices the illness of Mary of Lorraine, informs his own Court how greatly shocked the Scotch ladies had been at the misconduct of their young Queen's governess, the widowed Lady Fleming, who, having been compelled to make a temporary retirement soon after the arrival of the Queen-mother, had just been brought to bed of a son, of whom the King of France was the reputed father.[2] It was also reported that

[1] Lesley's History of Scotland.

[2] That Lady Fleming held a distinguished place in the favour of the French Sovereign appears from various of his letters to Mary of Lorraine, in which she is highly commended by him, but especially for her good conduct. Witness the following curious epistle, without date, addressed by him to that Princess, apparently before the peace with England:—

HENRY II. OF FRANCE TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND.

"MADAME, MY GOOD SISTER,—I believe that you think enough of the care, pains, and great vigilance that my cousin, the Lady Fleming, constantly takes about the person of our little daughter, the Queen of Scotland. The really good, virtuous, and honourable manner in which she performs her duties therein makes it only reasonable that you and I should have her, and the children of her family, in perpetual remembrance on this account. She has been lamenting to me that one of her sons is a prisoner in England, and I desire to lend, as far as possible, a helping hand to obtain his deliverance; yet, situated as I am, it is not quite so easy to accomplish that wish. It appears to me, Madame, my good sister, that you ought to

he had fallen in love with one of the Scotch belles in the train of the Queen-mother; and both the Queen of France and her haughty rival, Madame Valentinois, were jealously uneasy, and desirous of the departure of the royal widow and her noble attendants. Mary of Lorraine, who was herself one of the most correct Princesses in the world, and was considered to have the best regulated household, must have been greatly annoyed at these improprieties—if, indeed, they are not the invention of that errant scandal-monger, Sir John Mason, or his informant, Kirkaldy of Grange. "The Dowager of Scotland," continues the former unfriendly reporter of her proceedings, "maketh all this Court weary from the high to low, such an importunate beggar is she for herself. The King would fain be rid of her, and she, as she pretendeth, would fain be gone."[1] It should appear that this importunity was for the arrears of the pension which, according to the stipulation in her marriage articles, she was entitled to receive annually from the King of France; and, in consequence of the expenses of his war with England, and the purchase-money he had paid for the restitution of Boulogne, Henry II. had not been able to keep up his payments to her. "Marry," pursues Mason, "the sticking [delay] is about money matters, the King being desirous she should depart upon the promise of sending thereof to her, and she desiring to have the same with her. The sums are two hundred thousand francs of old debts, which is in a manner all paid; and, besides that, fifty thousand francs more, partly for the payment of other pensions accorded to the Scots, and partly to remain at her own disposal, and fifty thousand for her own pension that year." So that the royal widow had abundant cause for her voyage to France besides the reason which is generally assigned for it in history—that of arranging her plans with the King of France for superseding the present

write and request, as you have the means of doing so, to have him exchanged for some English prisoner. In doing this, you will perform a good work for a person who merits it. Praying God, Madame," &c.—From the original French in the Balcarres MSS., Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

[1] State Paper MS.

Governor of Scotland in the regency of that realm. Henry stood her good friend in that matter, in the way both of bribes and promises to the nobles who accompanied her, as well as to the Earl of Arran, whom he confirmed in the dukedom and revenues of Chatelherault, amounting to twelve thousand crowns per annum, on condition of his resigning his office to the Queen-mother. He engaged also to make his son, Lord Hamilton, the colonel of his Archer Guard, and to confer sundry honours and immunities on other members of his family.[1] The Queen-mother engaged that his youngest son, Master Gavin Hamilton, should be put in possession of the abbacy of Kilwinning, and to absolve the Earl himself from all the defalcations of which he had been guilty in the treasury department, and to make no inconvenient inquiries into the present state of the jewel-house and rich wardrobe inventories of her late lord, King James—promising that she would take whatever was left, and be quiet.

The Archbishop of St Andrews, who was supposed to be dying of an incurable malady, had gone to Italy to place himself under the care of the most celebrated astrological physician of the age, Cardan; and the administration of public affairs had, in the mean time, proved so heavy a burden to the bewildered brain of the luckless Governor that he suffered himself to be persuaded by Panter, Bishop of Ross, to promise to resign his uneasy office to the Queen-mother—that lady having always had the commons on her side, and having now succeeded in winning the suffrages of almost all the lords. Panter was several months in bringing his friend Arran to the desired conclusion, and was rewarded by His Most Christian Majesty with the rich abbey of Lassaye in France. The good young Prior of St Andrews was rendered supple as a glove by the fat priory of Masçon, and as popish in practice as was necessary for his induction by papal dispensation into his French church preferment. In short, all the rudely disposed and intractable peers having

[1] Lesley's History of Queen Mary.

departed with Lord Maxwell, the fair Dowager got everything her own way, and remained to enjoy the company of her children, and the homage that was paid to her and the Queen her daughter, at the Court of France; or perhaps, as Mason insinuates, determined not to stir till the King of France could make it convenient to pay her what he owed or had promised to give her. Indeed, she was well aware that it would be of little use returning to Scotland in pursuance of her present object, unless with a full purse. One important motive for the delay, however, was to be present at the King of France's reception of the English embassy extraordinary, sent by Edward VI. to invest that monarch with the order of the Garter. This ceremonial took place with great pomp at Chateaubriand, near Nantes, in Bretagne, on the 20th of June 1551. At the head of the English embassy was the late Queen Katharine Parr's brother, the Marquis of Northampton, who, in his letter to his own court, expresses his satisfaction at finding himself in company with "both the old Queen of Scots and the young." The latter, who was now brought forward on all public occasions, was only in her ninth year. The Marquis, in the name of his royal master, and in the presence of the Queen-mother, made a final demand of the hand of the young Sovereign of Scotland of the French King, in a harangue of immense length, setting forth the great expenditure of blood and treasure on the part of England to win her. It could scarcely be expected, at this stage of the affair, that Henry II. was to be persuaded into yielding up the contested heiress; but the gist of the negotiation was, that as England would be content with the hand of his eldest daughter, in lieu of the young Scottish Queen, it would be most unfriendly to deny it. Henry II. joyously agreed to the exchange, and forthwith a series of fêtes ensued in presence of the united French and Scottish Courts.[1] "Henry II.," Lord Northampton writes, "sent for me, praying me to bring the young English lords and their bows into the gardens, where we shot with him at the butts till late; then he brought us and

[1] Marquis of Northampton to the English Council, June 20, 1551—State Paper Office Letter.

all the company into his Queen's presence-chamber, where we found her Majesty with the old and the young Scottish Queens, at whose hands we had as good welcome as could be had. Then the King of France and all fell to dancing, which drove forth night to bed-time. On Saturday, after dinner, Henry II. played tennis. After supper he brought the Queens and all their trains into the open fields, where our Englishmen wrestled with certain Bretons, and had the better of them."[1] At the conclusion of the treaty, Mary of Lorraine was present with the little Queen her daughter at a midnight supper in the park, where they came with all their ladies, and in a beautiful night sat at the banquet tables spread under the trees. The summer was very hot, and Bretagne is not the coolest place in Europe at such seasons. The robes of the Garter, in which Henry II. had dined, had been found warm attire for the country and weather. The royal fête-champêtre ended with a torch-light hunting of red deer over the adjacent heath.

Mary of Lorraine was at Blois, in July 1551, with her royal child; for the plague breaking out at Nantes, and indeed all over Europe, put an end to these pleasant Breton fêtes, and compelled the united courts of France and Scotland to return thither. Sir John Mason, ever watchful on the proceedings of the Queen-mother of Scotland, observes, in his usual sneering strain, how convenient her departure from the royal apartments in that palace would be to the Queen of France, Catharine de Medicis, who meant her approaching accouchement to take place there. His despatch adds, "The French admiral is now come to court, at Amboise, to devise on the manner of the Scottish Queen Dowager's transportation."[2] However, her departure did not take place for several months, being often fixed, and as often

[1] Marquis of Northampton to the English Council, June 20, 1551—State Paper Office Letter. According to Bishop Lesley's account of these games, the principal contest took place between the English and the Scots, who vanquished all the people of the land in skill and strength; and, if we may trust his partial testimony in favour of his own countrymen, the Scotch excelled the English.

[2] Mason's Letter.

retarded by various causes. Meanwhile she accompanied the French court to Tours, Orleans, and Fontainebleau;[1] the princely pleasures and pageants which were everywhere prepared for her entertainment being rendered more agreeable by the presence of her royal daughter, whose beauty and precocious intelligence excited universal admiration. But these festive and rejoicing days, the brightest and happiest in the lives of the two Queens, were too felicitous to last. An imaginary duty, self-imposed by the royal mother, compelled her to tear herself from her own congenial France, and the friends of her youth, and, above all, from the endearing caresses of her beloved child—the pride of her heart and the desire of her eyes—and to return in widowed and childless loneliness, to struggle with the evil destiny that awaited her in the storm-shaken seat of empire she blindly desired to occupy. Having bidden a long, and indeed, as it proved, a last farewell to her royal daughter, Mary of Lorraine proceeded to Joinville in Champagne to cheer her widowed mother, Antoinette de Bourbon, Duchess-Dowager de Guise, with a visit. Claud, Duke de Guise, Mary of Lorraine's father, had been dead more than a year; but the deepest mourning still reigned throughout the castle. Everything was studiously contrived to present images of the instability of human life and the vanity of earthly grandeur to the eye. The widowed Duchess, though the duties incumbent on her as the mother of a large family prevented her from indulging her own desire of retiring to a convent, had given up the world. She had even placed her own coffin in the gallery which led from her apartments to the chapel[2] where her lord was interred, so that she could not fail to contemplate her last abode whenever she passed into the chapel to attend the various offices of her church, which she did every day. What a contrast must these lugubrious scenes have presented to Mary of Lorraine, after the refined pleasures of the court of France; but the wisest of men has

[1] Lesley, History of Queen Mary, p. 239.
[2] Vatout's History of Chateau d'Eu.

declared "that it is better to go into the house of mourning than the house of feasting." Her filial visit of duty to the melancholy chateau of Joinville, and its prayerful lady, with her perpetual *memento mori*, had doubtless (though we pretend not to approve of such fond superstitions) a wholesome effect on the mind of the royal widow of Scotland, by calling her to self-recollection after the flattery and intoxicating homage she had received during the last year of excitement and dissipation. It prepared her, withal, to bow in resignation to one of the severest blows that had yet been inflicted on her by the chastening rod of the almighty Disposer of human events. From the house of mourning for her deceased father, Mary of Lorraine was summoned to that of sickness and of death—the death of her first-born. Her son, the Duke de Longueville, to whom she had promised her last visit in France, was attacked with a dangerous illness while she was with him in his palace at Amiens. She had the mournful consolation of performing a mother's tender duty, by watching over the fluctuations of his malady, and affording him the comfort of her presence during his mortal sufferings. While she was thus occupied, she received the following affectionate letter from her royal kinswoman, the celebrated Jeanne, Queen of Navarre :—

JEANNE, QUEEN OF NAVARRE, TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND.

"MADAME,—They told me to-day that Monsieur de Longueville was ill at Amiens, and that you were staying with him, which makes me send this gentleman to inquire after his health and yours. Madame, I am very sorry that he [the Duke de Longueville] did not remain longer here, as I think that, even if I were not so fortunate as to be able to render you some service in nursing and assisting him, there are at least, as it appears to me, more conveniencies here, and a very good physician—as, Madame, you are aware, having yourself made trial of his skill in this good city. I do not fear to offer you everything that is in this house here, whether of furniture or provisions, wishing you to do with them as if they were your own. Monsieur my husband and myself will be most happy if in anything in our power we can be of use to you ; and the desire I feel of employing myself in some way for you makes me use this freedom to offer any little means I have, and that you would receive, Madame, as a proof of the affection of one who would not willingly be accounted ungrateful for the

honour which formerly I have received here from you, and which I shall remember all my life."

It would, doubtless, open some episode of touching interest in the early history of these royal ladies, if Jeanne of Navarre had been more explicit on the subject of her former obligations to Mary of Lorraine, of which she expresses so lively a sense. It appears from the context of the letter that a tender friendship had subsisted between Jeanne's mother, the illustrious Margaret de Valois, and Mary of Lorraine; and this may probably account for the protection which Mary, for nearly seventeen years of her widowhood, extended towards the Scotch Reformers. At any rate, that high-minded and truthful heroine of the Reformed cause in France, Jeanne of Navarre, loved and esteemed Mary of Lorraine, and desired to be loved by her, to whose real character she could be no stranger, having known her from childhood, and being then the wife of her first cousin, Anthony Bourbon of Vendôme. She says in conclusion:—

"I entreat you very humbly, Madame, to grant me a heritage in your regard, by allowing me to fill the place therein which was occupied by the late Queen my mother (Marguerite of Valois, sister of Francis I.;) and if I have not at present so many means of deserving it, I will not be slothful in obeying you faithfully in anything in which you may be pleased to command me; and not having now better means of testifying my good-will but that of praying to God for you, I will beseech Him to give you as long and happy a life as you can desire. Your very humble and very obedient sister,

"JEHANNE DE NAVARRE."[1]

There is no date to this charming letter of sympathy and kindness, but there can be no doubt that it was written in the beginning or middle of September 1551, when Mary of Lorraine was watching, in the apprehensive anguish of an oft-bereaved mother, over the premature deathbed of her first-born and only surviving son, Charles, Duke of Longueville. He expired in her arms on the 22d of that month, having nearly completed his sixteenth year. Thus

[1] From the original French in the Balcarres Collection, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

early perished the last dear pledge of Mary of Lorraine's first happy marriage.

The following letter of condolence appears to have been addressed to her, while in the first bitterness of her grief, by the Queen of France, Catharine de Medicis:—

THE QUEEN OF FRANCE TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND.

"MADAME,—I send this bearer to inquire some tidings of you; I cannot help thinking they must be bad, seeing the loss you have had, for which I feel more sorrow than I can express here. If I could lessen yours I should feel happy, for the greatest regret that I have is not having the power to offer you the aid and consolation that I desire. But when I recollect, Madame, that you have been so virtuous in all your adversity, I assure myself that you will not be less so now, and that you will find consolation in the Queen your daughter in the time to come. You will receive the greatest satisfaction from her love and obedience, and she will recompense you for all your misfortunes.

"I entreat you, Madame, to pardon me for not having written to you with mine own hand. I find myself still very weak, for it is but eight days *since my accouchement took place*, and also I am much troubled with having been informed that the Prior of Capua has gone away. I believe, Madame, you had not deemed him so mad as to leave the King in the midst of his affairs. I believe that you remember well some wrongs that he committed heretofore against him, but I had not thought, even to the present hour, that he would have been guilty of such folly. I complain to you, Madame, because of the friendship I am certain you have for me, and likewise because it seems to me that you have so good an opinion of him that you will find this crime of his as strange as I do.

"I pray God, Madame, that he will give you all the consolation that you desire; so recommending myself, with very good heart, to your good Grace, I am your good sister,

"CATERINE."[1]

Endorsed, "To the Queen of Scotland, Madame my sister."

Mary of Lorraine had been detained from her homeward voyage by the fatal illness of her son; for the King of France had told Sir William Pickering, one of the English envoys, as early as the 4th of September, that the Queen

[1] From the original French autograph, preserved in the Advocates' Library. There is no date, but that is verified by Brantôme, who mentions the reasons that induced the Prior of Capua to leave the service of Henry II., and quotes his own letter on the subject, complaining that the King took from him his spoils made in his sea warfare. The Prior of Capua dates this letter Dec. 18, 1551, from which the date of this first letter may be inferred. The loss which the Queen Dowager of Scotland had sustained was the untimely death of her son, the Duke de Longueville.

Dowager of Scotland was ready to embark as soon as the King of England would favour her with a safe-conduct, and permission to land in his dominions in case of sickness or stormy weather.[1] The safe-conduct for her voyage to France included the same for her return; but the friendly relations between the two countries hung on such ticklish contingencies, that Henry only acted a prudential part for his fair guest in obtaining for her a renewal of their royal neighbour's guarantee for her personal security. On the 17th of the same month, the desired passport was duly signed and sealed, and transmitted for the use of the errant Dowager of Scotland, by the gracious young Sovereign of England.[2] She must have received it either at the deathbed of her boy, or in the first moments of bitter anguish for his loss. Not only was she unable to travel for many days, but she remained, out of natural tenderness and respect for his memory, till after his obsequies had been duly solemnised, which created an unavoidable delay. In the third week in October she proceeded to Rouen, where her train, and the numerous followers who had accompanied her from Scotland to France, were waiting to attend her on her homeward voyage. It is related by that right reverend historian, Bishop Lesley, in his quaint style of complaint against the follies and extravagancies of his noble contemporaries, that, at the time Mary of Lorraine went to visit her widowed mother at Joinville, she left the greater part of her company in Paris, buying and preparing things to carry with them into Scotland—that polite metropolis of France being then, as now, considered the emporium of fashion, elegance, and luxury, only in a far greater degree, since there is nothing in the way of furniture, dress, and costly manufactures of silks, lace, ribbons, and shawls, and even jewelry, that may not, in these days, be obtained in the splendid shops of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, quite as good, and not dearer, than in the Rue de St Honoré. Far different was the state of things in the good town of Edinburgh in the middle of the fifteenth century, though a

[1] Sir W. Pickering to the English Council, Sept. 4, 1551. Tytler's Edward VI., vol. i. p. 415, 416. Melun. [2] Rymer, vol. xv.

French Queen presided over the courts of Holyrood and Stirling; but the cruel aggressions of the English invaders had, for a time, prevented the enterprise of the merchants, and put a stop to the industrial employments of the artisan. Edinburgh, and all the once flourishing towns on the firths of Forth, Clyde, and Tay, had been laid in blackened ruins. The burghers, being the trading and mechanical classes, had suffered fourfold miseries in the pillage of their stock, the destruction of their warehouses, shops, and dwellings, and the loss of customers. The productive arts of civilisation had been suspended. No one was able to prepare or offer anything for sale, except the bare necessaries of life. Coarse cloths of domestic manufacture, knitted garments, and perhaps a few silks imported by the commissariats of the foreign troops, were exposed in open booths, or on certain days, round the market cross, at exorbitant prices. Paris must therefore have appeared, in comparison, brilliant and beautiful as the enchanted gardens of Arabian lore. Unluckily, the precious commodities temptingly displayed in all directions, though apparently as plentiful, could not, as the Scottish aristocracy found to their cost, be obtained quite so cheaply as the possessor of the wonderful lamp gathered rubies and emeralds from the bushes, and picked up gold and pearls from the glittering dust that bestrewed his path. But, at whatever cost, they could not refrain from possessing themselves of many tempting articles of luxury not procurable in their own country. "They bought," Lesley tells us, "more superfluities than were necessary, but specially the ladies' fantasy did move them." Our episcopal chronicler ventureth not to complete his sentence by recording to what extent his fair countrywomen, young and old, not being restrained by the presence and prudential counsels of their royal mistress, employed themselves in making rash and inconvenient investments in rich array and materials, for an increase in that "newfangledness of gear" which had provoked the satirical rhymes of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington. They were somewhat punished for their inconsiderate extravagance by being compelled to lay by

their costly Parisian robes and gay trappings unworn, to assume *doole* garments for the Duke de Longueville, whose unexpected death placed the households of both the Scottish Queens, his mother and sister, in the deepest mourning. Mary of Lorraine and her company, having met at Rouen, proceeded by water to Dieppe, and there embarked for Scotland.[1]

[1] Leslev's Historv of Queen Marv. p. 239.

MARY OF LORRAINE

CHAPTER VI.

SUMMARY

Return of Mary of Lorraine from France—She lands at Portsmouth—Edward VI. invites her to his court—Her progress to Hampton Court—Festival there in her honour—Enters London by the Thames—Lands at Baynard Castle—Lodges at the Bishop of London's palace near St Paul's—Presents made to her by the Lord Mayor and citizens—Attentions paid her by Edward VI.—She is entertained by him at Westminster—Her conversations with him—Her farewell procession to the north gate of London—Her homeward progress through England to Edinburgh—Affectionate reception there—Letter of condolence to Lady Innermeyth—Mary of Lorraine tries to obtain the Regency—Arran refuses to resign it—Her forbearing conduct—Accompanies him in his justiciary progresses—Her popularity—Arran's jealousy—She retires to Falkland Palace—Detects a spy in her household—Conference with Earl Bothwell, her former lover—His letter to her—Cardinal Lorraine's account of her relatives in France—Praises of the young Queen her daughter—Letters of the King of France to Mary of Lorraine—Her gay court at Stirling—She promotes the marriage of her husband's daughter Jean—Arran yields the Regency to Mary of Lorraine—Her investiture—Letter of the young Queen to her—Anecdotes of Queen-Regent's government—Difficulties of her position—Her toleration of the Reformers—Unpopular choice of French officers of state—Her love of justice—Punishes her Lord Chancellor—Characteristic dialogue between Queen-Regent and Earl of Angus—Her justiciary progresses—Attempts to establish a land-tax and standing army—Spirited remonstrance of the middle class—She concedes the point—Fatal appointment of Maitland as her secretary—She infringes the peace with England—Her unconstitutional proceedings—Opposition of the nobles at Maxwell Heugh—Her personal danger—She submits to the nobles—Incurs the enmity of Knox by a jest—Her character by Spottiswood—The marriage of the Queen her daughter—Mary of Lorraine presides at the national fêtes—Mons Meg and her bullet—Persecutions of the Reformers by Archbishop Hamilton without the sanction of the Queen-Regent.

It has generally been asserted that Mary of Lorraine left the shores of Normandy with the full intention of visiting the court of England. If such had been her

original intention, she would have saved much time and trouble by proceeding at once from Amiens to Boulogne, and crossing to Folkestone or any other of the opposite ports on the Kentish coast. Instead of doing this, she travelled through Normandy and embarked at Dieppe, the port from which vessels bound for Scotland usually sailed. The important political project for which she had sought and obtained the co-operation of the King of France required her immediate presence in Scotland, whence she had been absent more than thirteen months. Her return had already been delayed by the illness and death of her only son. Her deep mourning and grief for that so recent bereavement rendered her unfit to enter into scenes of royal festivity, or to perform the part of the leading character in a series of public pageants in a land of strangers, and of course took from her any desire to do so. The circumstances that brought her to England are briefly explained by the truthful pen of our young royal chronicler, Edward VI., who has thus noted the date of her arrival in his journal:—"*Oct.* 22, 1551.—The Dowager of Scotland was by tempest driven to land at Portsmouth, and so she sent word she would take the benefit of the safe-conduct to go by land, and come and see me. The next day she came from Portsmouth to Mr White's house. *Oct.* 25.—The Dowager came to Sir Richard Cotton's house." At this mansion her Majesty reposed herself four days. It was neither prudent nor consistent with royal etiquette to proceed farther till she received a message of welcome from the English Sovereign, in reply to her announcement that she had landed in his realm, and proposed herself the honour of paying him a visit. This intimation appears to have been received by Edward Oct. 25th, on which day arrangements were made in council by the young monarch for her escort of honour and hospitable entertainment on her journey to his palace of Hampton Court, which, being conveniently situated for that purpose, he assigned for her reception. A letter was despatched by the Council in his Majesty's name, "to the Lady Marie and the Lady Elizabeth, signifying to them the arrival of the Queen Dowager

of Scotland at Portsmouth, and of her coming to the King's presence and passage through the realm."[1] The royal sisters were evidently together, as but one letter was written for their information. The same day orders were issued by the Council to the Lord Marquis of Northampton, and the Lady Marchioness his wife, and divers noblemen and their ladies, for the receiving of the Queen Dowager of Scotland at Hampton Court.[2] It will be remembered that Northampton had been introduced to Mary of Lorraine and the young queen at Chateaubriand in Bretagne, where they had spent some pleasant festival days together. Privy Council letters were also addressed "to Mr Cotton, Mr Wingfield, and other gentlemen appointed to receive the Queen Dowager of Scotland, to inquire what they have done at her receiving, and what time she intendeth to be here."[3] The royal stranger, as King Edward records in his journal, came from Sir Richard Cotton's to the Earl of Arundel's, to dinner, on Oct. 29th. It was probably on this occasion that Mary of Lorraine presented to the daughter of her noble host the curious piece of silk embroidery representing the Crucifixion, still preserved at Greystoke Castle, bearing this mysterious inscription—"The handywork of Mary Queen of Scots. Presented by her mother to my mother." Tradition asserts that this embroidery was executed by Mary Stuart at eight years old. Now, as the eighth anniversary of her birth occurred while the Queen-mother was with her at Blois in the preceding year, it is plain that the latter brought it away as a specimen of the little Queen's early skill in pictorial needlework, and presented it in token of her regard to propitiate the betrothed bride of the heir of the noble house of Howard. Her sojourn in the house of the Earl of Arundel was, however, brief. After dinner she was, according to King Edward's journal, "brought to Mr Brown's house, where the gentlemen of Sussex met her." The same authority proceeds to trace her progress day by day, as follows:—"She was conveyed by the same gentle-

[1] Archæologia, vol. xviii. p. 168, from Minutes of Privy Council.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

men to Guildford, Oct. 30, where Lord William Howard and the gentlemen of Surrey met her. She came to Hampton Court, Oct. 31, conveyed by the same lords and gentlemen; and two miles and a half from thence met her, in a valley, the Lord Marquis Northampton, accompanied by the Earl of Wiltshire, son to the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Fitzwater, son to the Earl of Sussex, Lord Ewers, Lord Braye, Lord Robert Dudley, Lord Garard, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and divers other gentlemen."

It was, however, in those days of tedious ceremony, a cold rencontre, even in the most picturesque valley the Thames could offer so near the month of November. However, all ceremonies being happily concluded, this noble party, assisted by all the gentlemen-pensioners, men-at-arms, ushers, sewers, and carvers, to the number of one hundred and twenty gentlemen, brought the Queen Dowager to the gate of Hampton Court. There stood the Countess of Pembroke, sister of the late Queen Catherine Parr, and many other ladies, to the number of sixty, in court dress. They conducted the Scottish Dowager to "the Queen's side," which is still, we may interpolate, in the most beautiful preservation.[1] The royal guest was, with all due ceremonials of state, introduced into these apartments by Lady Northampton and Lady Pembroke, the sister and sister-in-law of the last Queen by whom it was occupied. "Her lodgings on the Queen's side," continues the young royal chronicler, "were all hanged with arras, and so was the hall, and all the other lodgings of *mine* were very finely dressed; and this night and the next day all were spent in dancing and pastime, as though it were a court; and great presence of gentlemen resorted thither." The young King remained meantime in London. His journal

[1] The Tudor Gothic range of embayed windows on the south side of Hampton Court Palace having, by happy chance, escaped the innovations of the Dutch King, may still be seen, not only by the privileged, but by the faithful commons, when they are admitted to look at the beautiful purple vine in its season, for a consideration. These antique windows belong to the veritable apartments occupied for three days by the mother of Mary Queen of Scots, just three centuries ago.

is curiously interspersed with notices of the fatal prosecution of his unfortunate uncle Somerset, amidst his diurnal records of the proceedings of his royal visitor, and the honours paid to her in his court. "The Dowager," continues he, "perused the house of Hampton Court, November 1, and saw some coursing of deer."

The following morning, November 2, Mary of Lorraine and her suite embarked at the Watergate in the King's state barges, and proceeded from Hampton Court down the Thames to London. The season of the year was not the most suitable for such a voyage; but the Scotch Queen and her ladies had been too long accustomed to mists to feel any particular alarm at the probability of being enveloped in a chill London fog in their aquatic progress. King Edward having assigned to Dr Ridley, Bishop of London, the honour of lodging and entertaining his royal visitor, she landed at Baynard Castle, where, being received by the Duke of Northumberland, Lord Willoughby, and others, she mounted her horse, and, attended by a grand equestrian cavalcade of the Scotch and English nobles, both ladies and gentlemen, rode from the wharf to the Bishop's palace at St Paul's. "On her arrival, the Lord Mayor sent her, as a guest of the city, great gifts of provisions, *beefs*, *muttons*, *veals*, *swines*, bread, wild-fowl, wine, beer, spices, quails, sturgeon, wood, coals, and salmon, and all things, by divers *men*."[1]

This frank offering of civic hospitality in the form of uncooked provisions in such profusion, leads to the conclusion that the royal stranger had to furnish forth her own table and that of her numerous followers in her episcopal lodgings. King Edward merely notes in his journal that day—"She came to the Bishop's palace in London, and there she lay, [slept that night,] with all her train lodged about her." Not a word of her being entertained. The citizens continued to send in vast stores of eatables all the next day for her use, which were received very graciously, and suitable responses made to all the compli-

[1] Machyn's Diary, p. 11. Stowe's Annals.

mentary deputations that waited upon her. Among the rest there was one from the young Sovereign, for the account of which we are indebted to his own journal:—"The Duke of Suffolk, November 3, with many lords and gentlemen were sent to welcome her, [the Queen Dowager of Scotland,] and to say on my behalf, that if she lacked anything she should have it for her better furniture; also, that I would willingly see her the day following."

On that important morning appointed for her reception by the youthful Majesty of England in his fifteenth year, Mary of Lorraine went in grand state from St Paul's to Westminster in a chariot, wherein was seated by her side the maternal sister of her late Consort James V., the Lady Margaret, at once her sister-in-law, the aunt of her daughter, and the wife of the traitor Lennox, her rejected lover. In the same chariot were also two other English princesses connected with the regal succession, who were related in equal degree to King Edward and her own daughter Mary Queen of Scots, namely, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, and Lady Jane Grey.[1] Pre-eminent in rank, as they were soon to be in calamity, above all others in the glittering cavalcade, these royal ladies were of course the central point of attraction for all eyes. Objects of envy doubtless they were to some in the attendant procession of titled English matrons, who, to the number of a hundred, brought up the rear, including the Duchesses of Richmond and Northumberland; but, if the gloomy destiny that impended over each member of that proudly distinguished quartette could have been unveiled, the meanest pedestrian, the most abject beggar by the wayside, would not have wished to exchange lots with any of them. But thus, unconscious of the dark future that awaited each other, rode on in stately companionship the ambitious mothers of those kindred victims, Mary Stuart, Darnley, and Lady Jane Grey—and the Lady Jane herself, the youngest, the wisest, and the happiest of the party, because the holiest, and the first to be dismissed from the pains and

[1] Stowe's Annals.

penalties inherited with the royal blood of York and Lancaster.

The Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk received the illustrious visitor at the portals of the palace, and conducted her to the hall where the young King stood. He advanced to meet her, the Earl of Warwick bearing the sword of state before him. On his approach, Mary of Lorraine curtsied so low that it amounted almost to a genuflexion. Edward took her by the hand, kissed, embraced, and welcomed her in gracious and affectionate terms, then led her into his own presence-chamber, where the presentation of her Scottish ladies to him took place. The youthful Sovereign courteously saluted every one,[1] though he modestly omits any allusion to that part of the ceremony in the record he has made of his reception and entertainment of the fair Dowager of Scotland and her ladies. We should do the regal chronicler great wrong if we did not cite in full his naïve account of the proceedings of himself and his royal guest, from his journal for that memorable day.

"*Nov.* 4.—The Duke of Suffolk, Lord Braye, and divers other lords and gentlemen, accompanied with his wife the Lady Frances, the Lady Margaret, (Lennox,) the Duchesses of Richmond and of Northumberland, the Lady Jane (Grey,) daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquises of Northampton and Winchester, the Countesses of Arundel, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Rutland, with a hundred other gentlewomen, went to her, and brought her through London to Westminster. At the gate there received her the Duke of Northumberland, (Dudley,) great-master, and the treasurer, comptroller, and the Earl of Pembroke, with all the sewers and carvers and cupbearers, to the number of thirty. In the hall I met her with all the lords of my council; and from the outer gate up to the presence-chamber, on both sides, stood my guard. The court, the hall, and the stairs were full of serving-men; the presence-chamber, great chamber, and *her* presence-chamber, of

[1] Stowe. Strype. Anderson's MS. History of Scotland.

gentlemen. And so, having brought her to her chamber, I retired to mine. I went to her to dinner. She dined under the same cloth of *estate*, at my left hand. At her rearward dined my cousin *Francis* and my cousin Margaret; at mine [rearward] sat the French ambassador. We were served by two services, two sewers, cupbearers, carvers, and gentlemen. Her master *hostell* came before her service, and my officers before mine. There were two cupboards, one of gold, four stages high; another of massy silver, six stages high. In her great chamber dined at three boards the ladies only. After dinner, when she had heard some music, I brought her to the hall, and so she went away."

Some things took place on this occasion which, like his salutation of the Scotch ladies and their royal mistress, the youthful Majesty of England has either been too prudent, or peradventure not had time, to record — such, for instance, as the private conversation on the subject of his first love, Mary Queen of Scots, whom the bachelor monarch, notwithstanding his engagement with the eldest daughter of France, Elizabeth de Valois, made a last bold effort to obtain for his consort, by seizing that opportunity of pleading his cause in person to the Queen-mother. This interesting conference probably took place while Edward was apparently engaged in performing the duties of cicerone to his royal guest, when, after their early dinner, and all its elaborate ceremonials were concluded, he led her through his gardens, and showed her his glorious galleries in Whitehall. [1]

In some old book, eagerly devoured in early days, but whose title-page was gone, I remember to have read a more diffuse account of the conversation between our gracious boy King and the Queen Dowager of Scotland than Lesley or any of my tangible authorities record, commencing naturally enough by Edward inquiring of her how she liked England?

"I like it passing well," was the polite reply; "but, of all I have seen therein, I am best pleased with its King."

[1] Stowe's Annals. Strype.

"Yet ye would not have me to your son," rejoined the young monarch reproachfully.

To which she courteously replied, "that if the question had not been moved till they two met, the case had probably been different; but that his marriage with her daughter had been sought in such uncivil fashion as highly to commove the people of Scotland against it; for the barbarities committed by the Duke of Somerset and others of the English commanders had rendered the name of England hateful in her daughter's realm." Lesley tells us that Edward, in most effectuous manner, urged the royal mother to persuade the King of France to relinquish the marriage of the Queen of Scots with his son the Dauphin, and agree to her fulfilling the matrimonial treaty which had, in the first place, been made between him and her, with the consent of the Governor and estates of Scotland, being, as he affirmed, most meet for the union of both their realms, the staunching of blood, and perpetual quietness in time to come; adding, in sterner tone, "I assure you that whosoever marrieth her shall not have her with kindness from me, but I shall be enemy to him in all times coming."[1]

The Queen-mother replied, "the fault that he had not her daughter was in the rigorous pursuit made with fire and sword by the Protector and others of his council against the realm of Scotland, that forced the nobles to seek support from France, and they were, in consequence, enforced to send their Queen there. Such fashion of wooing," she repeated, "was not the way to win a lady and sovereign Princess by heritage in marriage, who should rather be sought by courteous, humane, and gentle behaviour, than by rigorous, cruel, and extreme pursuit." Nor did the royal widow forget to add, what was perhaps the truth, "that if they had commenced by seeking her goodwill who was the mother of the young Queen, instead of attempting to use compulsory measures, she might have shown herself more favourable in the matter." In conclusion, and to rid herself of Edward's importunity, she was fain to promise

[1] Lesley's History of Scotland—Reign of Mary, p. 240.

to mention his desire to the King of France and her kindred, when she returned to Scotland."[1]

It is possible that, when Mary of Lorraine saw the wealth and magnificence of England, and the beauty and fair endowments of the amiable young Sovereign whom she had so pertinaciously rejected for a son-in-law, she might have wished she had rather exerted her influence to accomplish a marriage every way likely to secure the happiness of her daughter. So favourably impressed was she with the mind and manners of her royal host, during this their only interview, that she was ever after accustomed to bear the highest testimony of him, telling every one who inquired what she thought of him, "that she found more wisdom and solid judgment in the young King of England, than she should have looked for in any three princes of full age then in Europe."[2] A more suitable mate, in all respects, for the maiden monarch of Scotland than her royal cousin of England could not have been selected; but, to lessen all romantic regrets that these fair cousins were prevented from wedding, it may be as well to remind the reader that the early death of the young King, which prevented the completion of his engagement with Elizabeth of France, occurred before Mary Stuart was of age to become his bride; and even if she had been in England as his affianced consort, the probabilities are, that her life would have been sacrificed to the overweening ambition of Northumberland in the attempt of rendering her a puppet Sovereign of England, to the exclusion of the ladies Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, the daughters of Henry VIII. It is to be observed, that neither of these princesses were present at the court held by King Edward for the reception of the Queen-mother of Scotland: if they had been at the banquet, they would have been mentioned by him as dining at the same table with him and his royal guest, as well as the Lady Margaret and the Lady Frances. To what are we to attribute their absence on this occasion, unless to the suspicions entertained by both, that some

[1] Lesley's History of Scotland—Reign of Mary.
[2] Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 243.

attempt would be made to impugn their legitimacy, by precedency over them being assigned to the daughters of their aunts? Aylmer, indeed, in his celebrated work, *An Harborow for faithful true Subjects*, speaking of the sensation excited among the female portion of King Edward's courtiers by the arrival of the Queen Dowager of Scotland and her noble attendants from the gay court of France, intimates that a complete revolution in dress took place, in consequence of their desire to vie with the Scotch and French maids of honour in bravery of attire—"So that all the ladies went with their hair frounced, curled, and double curled, except the Princess Elizabeth, who altered nothing, but kept her old-maiden shamefacedness."

In the course of the eight years that elapsed between the advent of the Queen Dowager of Scotland to the English court, and the publication of his book, Aylmer had forgotten that Mary of Lorraine and her ladies in waiting were all in deep mourning for the recent death of her son, the Duke de Longueville, at the period of her visit to the court of Edward VI., so that they were in a complete state of eclipse as regarded fashions and frouncing of hair—being compelled, by the solemn etiquette of French mourning, to shroud their figures in great black cloaks with hanging sleeves and weepers. To these *doole* cloaks—as their lugubrious envelopes were termed — large hoods were attached, which on all state occasions, when they appeared in public, it behoved the luckless wearers to pull over their heads, so as to muffle and obscure their features as much as possible. In point of fact, Mary of Lorraine and her train made about as lively an appearance, on entering the royal saloons at Whitehall, as a long funeral procession, such as may occasionally be seen in the streets of London, where the mourners at walking burials in the humbler ranks of the people appear in similar costume—only less ostentatiously cumbersome and disguising. The English court belles had decidedly the advantage over their French and Scotch visitors at this season. As for the Lady Elizabeth, it is

probable that she really made no alteration in her costume, as she absented herself from the royal circle—doubtless for some more cogent reason than shamefacedness.

Henry II. of France had already begun to insinuate, through his political agents, that neither of the daughters of Henry VIII. were legitimate; and that, in the event of the death of Edward VI. *sans* posterity, his little daughter-in-law, the Queen of Scotland, was the rightful heiress to the English crown. The maternal pride of the Queen-mother had probably tempted her to echo this opinion. The Duke of Northumberland, who was at that time at the head of the English government, would have been only too happy to render her instrumental to his deep-laid plot for disinheriting both the royal sisters of Edward, by inducing her—as one of the preliminary steps thereto—to indicate by her manner that she considered their cousins entitled to take precedency of them. Mary and Elizabeth were both too painfully aware of the delicacy of their position to encounter any risk of the kind: they and the Queen-mother of Scotland never met.

After the banquet at Whitehall—as early as four o'clock in the afternoon — Mary of Lorraine took her leave of the young King, and returned in the same state as she came, and with the like attendance, to supper at the Bishop of London's palace in St Paul's. The city chroniclers notice that King Edward's guards and beef-eaters were clad in new dresses, to do honour to the royal visitor. He makes the following entry in his journal of his courtesies to her next day :—"The Duke of Northumberland, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, the Marquis of Northampton and divers others, went to see her, and to deliver a ring with a diamond, and two nags, as a token from me."

The nags were for her own use—Mary of Lorraine being, like her daughter, an accomplished equestrian. The greater portion of that day appears to have been devoted to sight-seeing. All the antiquities, monuments, and principal jewels of the realm were shown to her.[1] From her

[1] Lesley, p. 239.

late consort, James V., Mary of Lorraine had imbibed a strong predilection for the ornamental arts; indeed, in many things, there was a striking similarity in their pursuits. She is, however, the first Queen on record who is known to have exhibited a taste for antiquities.

She must have been highly gratified by her visit to London, and the hospitable attentions she received, although her heart was full of sorrow for the loss of her son, who was just one year older than the young Sovereign of England. Mary of Lorraine commenced her homeward progress, November 6th. On the morning of that day she and her company rode through the city, from the Bishop of London's palace at St Paul's, on horseback, attended, says King Edward, "by divers ladies, as my cousin Margaret, the Duchesses of Richmond and Northumberland, who brought the Queen Dowager through Cheapside and Cornhill. She was escorted in her progress through London by the Master of the Horse, Lord Pembroke, with a hundred cavaliers mounted on great horses, wearing embroidered velvet coats, velvet hats, and white feathers, and gold chains. The Duke of Northumberland commanded another hundred horsemen as richly attired, with new javelins and badges. Winchester, the Lord-Treasurer, brought a third hundred gay cavaliers, adorned with his badge of the gold falcon.[1] Bishopsgate was then standing, and within the gate the chamberlain of London presented the royal guest with one hundred marks, evidently as a parting gift. And there met her the gentlemen of Middlesex, with a hundred horse; and she was conveyed out of the realm, being met in every shire with gentlemen.[2] The court, although gay and glorious to her sight, was full of internal division: the Duke of Somerset being then a prisoner in the Tower. He was condemned to death soon after Mary of Lorraine passed through London, and executed early in the ensuing January.

The young King and his council had rendered the home-

[1] Machyn's Diary.

[2] Burnet's Appendix, vol. ii.—from the oldest MS. in the British Museum, where the public may see the young King's MS. in a glass case.

ward progress of Mary of Lorraine as easy as the bad roads and unfavourable time of the year would permit, by issuing letters to the principal persons on the route they had chalked out for her from London to Berwick, directing them to provide, where it was possible, lodging and entertainment for her and her train. As early indeed as October 27, nearly a week before she arrived in London, arrangements for this purpose were commenced; for on that day was written a letter to Sir Percival Harte, "to prepare himself to come up hither [to Westminster,] with the lady his wife, to accompany the Queen Dowager of Scotland into the North."[1] Also, October 28th, letters were sent to the sheriffs of the shires and other gentlemen, near the parts where the Scottish Dowager shall pass, to prepare themselves "to receive and conduct her through their limits, in sort as may best stand with the King's Majesty's honour and their own estimation, and to give order for the quiet behaviour of the King's subjects towards the said Dowager and her train." A very needful order. Her first rest was at the mansion of a great commoner, Mr Chester, who had previously received a Privy Council injunction, directing him to lodge the Queen Dowager of Scotland on her northward journey at his house at Royston. Lesley tells us she passed through Ware, but the name of her host is not specified. There was a letter also to her Majesty's old acquaintance, Sir Ralph Sadler, commanding him to entertain the Queen Dowager of Scotland, and to see her well accompanied and her train well used, for their reasonable money, at their passing through Hertfordshire—that is, they were not to be imposed upon, or suffer extortion as to their travelling charges, which were evidently borne by themselves. It was, indeed, scarcely possible for private hospitality to supply beds and food for so numerous a company. The Duchess-Dowager of Suffolk, Katharine Willoughby, was entreated, by his Majesty's desire, to lodge and entertain the royal traveller at her house at Stamford, in Lincolnshire[2]—an entreaty which, of course, from such

[1] Archæologia, vol. xviii. p. 169—Privy Council Order.
[2] Privy Council Order, Nov. 1551. Archæologia, vol. xviii. p. 169.

authority, amounted to a command. The High Sheriff of every county through which her Majesty passed had orders to receive her with a company of the principal nobles and gentry within his sheriffdom, for her escort of honour; and thus, with no less demonstration of respect than if she had been a reigning sovereign, was Mary of Lorraine conducted on her way towards Scotland. There is a letter from King Edward's Privy Council at Westminster, addressed to the Lord Ogle, willing him, "at the Queen Dowager's passage through the Borders, at her going now into Scotland, to open unto her by mouth the want of justice that hath happened through the default of the Scots ministers, with also the heinous murder committed by the Scots within the Lord Conyers' charge." [1]

Mary of Lorraine could do no more than express her regrets, in reply, that such outrages should have been perpetrated in time of peace, and express her intention of putting things in better order when the reins of government should pass into her hands. At Berwick, the English lords and gentlemen took leave of her on the extreme verge of their Sovereign's dominions; and she was met and welcomed, with all due ceremonials of respect, by the Earl of Home and the Scotch Border lords and gentlemen, on the frontier of her daughter's realm. Lesley affirms that the Earl of Bothwell was one of those who came to meet her at Berwick; but, if so, it must have been on the English side, for in Scotland he dared not set a foot, being an outlawed and forfaulted traitor. It is, however, possible that he might have sought a private interview with his cruel lady-love, to solicit of her the restoration of his lands, castles, and enfeofments, of which she had obtained a grant under the Governor's privy seal in the year 1548, and had taken possession with a high hand, and a firm determination to exclude the original owner.[2] Him we find, in Nov. 1552, at Newcastle, petitioning his "singular good lords of the King of England's Privy Council" for the arrears of his English pension; and at the same time soliciting per-

[1] History of Scotland, p. 240.
[2] Privy Seal Register of Scotland, xxvii. fol. 75.

mission to take advantage of certain friendly overtures he has received of license to return to his own country, with the probable restoration of his estates.

Mary of Lorraine, though she travelled in queenly state, performed her journey from London to Edinburgh in only eighteen days, and this was uncommon speed for the period. The same distance may be accomplished at present in twelve hours. In the books of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland is an order to Sir Andrew Kerr of Littledean, directing him to issue letters of proclamation to Jedburgh, Selkirk, and other places, charging the lords and gentlemen in those parts to meet the Queen Dowager's Grace at our Lady Kirk of Steil, in their most honest manner—that is, in their gala array, and with good attendance, on the 24th Nov., to escort her on her journey towards Edinburgh. Her return had been expected a fortnight earlier, for we find the following item in the Compotus, Nov. 10:—

"Six carts to draw the chambers [cannons] brought forth of Leith to the Castle of Edinburgh, to be shot [fired] at the Queen's returning from France to Edinburgh, 24s." [1]

She was received with acclamations by the people wherever she came, and entered Edinburgh with a grand equestrian procession of ladies as well as gentlemen, who met her by the way to mark their respect for her—for she was at that time the most popular person in the realm.

The first business that occupied the attention of the Queen Dowager on her arrival was that of a peacemaker, being generally appealed to, by the advice of the Governor and his Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Huntley, by the contentious nobles, as an umpire to settle a vast variety of disputes which had sprung up among them, partly during the wars, and partly for the right of disposing of church preferments. She laboured much to pacify their differences, and finally succeeded in effecting a general reconciliation among them, to the great comfort of the Governor and the whole realm.[2] Quiet being thus restored, every man who possessed estates began to build, plant, and repair the

[1] Treasury Records in the Register House.
[2] Lesley, p. 241.

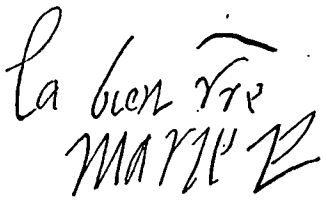
mischief which had been perpetrated by the invaders during the wars.

The following royal letter of condolence was addressed by Mary of Lorraine to a Scotch lady, who had appealed to her for vengeance on her husband's murderers:—

"TRUSTY COUSINESS,—We greet you heartily well, and *has* received, and understand your writing, touching the lamentable infortune fallen on your husband—which is to us no little displeasure. Nevertheless, we pray you take it as patiently as ye can, and refer to God the *wraik* [revenge] thereof; and thereafter, what ye and friends can devise for the weal of you and your bairns, as well as for the pursuit of justice for the vile crime, we shall be ready to fulfil at the uttermost of our power; and send a servant to the Governor incontinent, after we were advertised to call for justice in the matter, which we believe to get, God willing, who keep you,

"At Striveling, this tysday,

"Your good friend,



"To our traist cousignace,

"The Ladie Innermeyth," &c.[1]

Mary of Lorraine soon perceived that the Governor was in no haste to perform his promise of resigning the power of the crown into her hands. The Archbishop of St Andrews had unexpectedly recovered from the illness that had incapacitated him from acting as prime-minister and political prompter in cases of difficulty; and, on receiving the news of his brother's engagements with the ambitious Queen-mother, he exclaimed with a burst of fury, "Fie on him!—beast to do this, when there is but one wee lassie between him and the crown of Scotland!"[2] The wily prelate regained his old ascendency over the feeble mind of the irresolute Governor, and persuaded him to decline the

[1] Original and unedited document, lately discovered in the charter-room at Donibristle House, and courteously communicated by the Hon. John Stuart, brother to the Earl of Moray, to whom grateful acknowledgments are offered.

[2] Sir James Melville's Memoirs.

fulfilment of a promise that would reduce him to a private station. The young Queen was not entitled to choose her own guardians till she had completed her twelfth year; and, in the mean time, the Earl of Arran declared his intention of retaining the authority which had been delegated to him by the estates of Scotland. The Queen-mother acted with great temper and moderation under her disappointment. Instead of creating fresh miseries in the realm, by exciting insurrectionary movements against the Governor, she submitted to his retention of his office with a good grace. She even acceded to his desire of her accompanying him on a justiciary progress through the kingdom, for the suppression of the disorders caused by the long wars and domestic factions, and re-establishing the laws against the violation of property and personal safety.[1] They proceeded in a sort of amicable partnership together to Inverness, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Perth, and then through the west country and the Borders, the Governor holding courts of justice for trying causes and suppressing disorders in the principal towns. Though he was politically jealous of the Queen-mother, he placed great reliance on her judgment, and found her quick powers of perception, and the conciliatory influence of her manners, of infinite service in smoothing the difficulties of his unthankful duty. This progress occupied the spring, summer, and part of the autumn of 1552. Mary of Lorraine, while bestowing her time and attention on matters which apparently offered little to interest a foreign princess, was acquiring practical knowledge of the jurisprudence, manners, customs, and statistics of her daughter's realm. She did not neglect the opportunity of ingratiating herself with the commons by her popular demeanour, and, at the same time, gaining the suffrages of the most influential of the nobles and gentry, with a view to her elevation to the regency.[2] Finding she won all hearts wherever they appeared, she availed herself of the absence of the archbishop to press the Governor for his promised abdication. He returned an angry negative,

[1] Lesley. Tytler.

[2] Lesley, p. 245.

on which she left him to finish his legal business, and encounter the murmurs and discontents of the people, on whom he levied fines, without the support of her presence, and withdrew to her dower palace at Falkland. While there, she was much troubled by discovering the treachery of George Paris, one of the emissaries she had employed in agitating Ireland during the aggressive warfare the Protector Somerset had carried on against Scotland. This was only fair at the time; but, suffering herself to be deluded by the brilliant chimera of uniting Ireland with Scotland, she had continued her intrigues for that purpose after the proclamation of the peace, by means of certain disaffected Romish priests, as well as George Paris, who was an *attaché* of the French ambassador d'Oysell. Some of these incendiaries, and among the rest Paris, betrayed her proceedings to the English Privy Council, which must have appeared an ungrateful return for the hospitalities she had received from young Edward, although strictly in accordance with the Machiavellian school of policy then practised in Europe, and by none more shamelessly than the sovereigns of the house of Tudor. While Paris was under her own roof at Falkland, the Queen-mother received an intimation of his guilt. She instantly arrested him, put him in one of the dungeons of the palace, and wrote to the provost of Edinburgh to search his lodgings for a large box of papers, which, being found, contained ample evidence of his double dealings. [1] She mentions this circumstance with evident vexation to the King of France in one of her letters, as if it would cause equal surprise and annoyance to him, Paris being held in no small esteem both by Henry and d'Oysell.[2] The newly established peace with England would probably have been interrupted by these practices, if the domestic factions in that realm had not occupied the full attention of Northumberland. It was the knowledge of the unsettled state of affairs there which flattered the Queen-mother of Scotland with the idea of winning Ireland for her daughter.

[1] Hayne's Burghley Papers, November 18, 1552.
[2] Letter of Mary of Lorraine, ibid, dated Falkland, October 6, 1552.

She had subsequently more than enough to employ her misdirected energies at home.

She came to Edinburgh in the beginning of November, for the purpose of facilitating the King of France's wish of having five thousand foot and five hundred light horsemen raised in Scotland for his service. She was endeavouring, at the same time, to win the Earl of Bothwell back to his allegiance by offering him the command of this levy, although that post had been earnestly sued for by the Earl of Cassillis and Lord Ruthven. The person employed by her in the negotiation with Bothwell was his sister, Lady Fleming, who was also trying to reconcile him to the Governor. Bothwell boasted of this to Bishop, the Earl of Lennox's secretary, who was with him at Newcastle, saying "that the Queen Dowager had promised to be good lady to him with the King of France."[1] Besides this preferment, he expected to recover his estates, to obtain the Governor's daughter as a wife for his son,[2] and to retain his English pension withal—assuring his friend Bishop that he should carry back to Scotland as good an English heart as the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas had done. His demands not being granted by the Governor, he wrote after a year's deliberation the following curious letter to the Queen-mother, announcing his return to Scotland, and that he was entirely at her devotion.

Certain lingering symptoms of his old passion for Mary of Lorraine are amusingly betrayed by the white-complexioned Border Earl, in the unwillingness he expresses to enter her presence while suffering under the effects of the recent sea-sickness, which had not only made him ill, but produced an unfavourable alteration in his outward appearance.

"PATRICK, EARL OF BOTHWELL, TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER'S GRACE.

"It may please your good Grace, that, after great storm and heavy labours by the sea, I arrived here in Lothian, where I remain as yet, will-

[1] Illustrations of Queen Mary's Reign—Maitland Miscellany.

[2] Afterwards the notorious James, Earl of Bothwell, who was, we find, marriageable in the year 1552. The Lady Barbara Hamilton, who had lost her young husband, Lord Gordon, was probably the lady for whom he designed the honour of being his bride.

ing, with true heart, to offer and to do your Grace dutiful duty of service. And because I am, by violent tempest and storm on the sea, some part crazed and altered in my person, and not so able at this present to do such service as my will commands, and steers me to say, to excuse my unableness to your Grace, and to have your Grace's direction what I shall do presently, and where I shall address me to come to your Grace's presence. I have sent this bearer, my cousin Traquair, to have your Grace's mind and command toward me hereinto; and seeing I will not *impesche* your Grace with reading of long letter, this bearer will show your Grace at more length like as I have given to him in charge, so it will please your Grace to give him credence. And thus prays the Almighty God to have your Grace in keeping.

"Off Crichtoun, the 12th day of November, 1553.

"Your Grace's humill and obedient serviteur at power,

"ERLE BOTHWILL."[1]

The result was, that she restored his estates, obtained a pardon for his treasons, and bound him to her interest once more by promising to make him lieutenant of the Border whensoever it should be in her power.

Mary of Lorraine was very rich at this time, being in possession of a fine jointure from her first husband, the Duke de Longueville, besides her ample dower as the widow of James V. of Scotland, and she took advantage of every opportunity for the augmentation of her property. On the death of her son, she claimed two-thirds of his personal property, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of her brother, Cardinal Lorraine, got into a troublesome law-suit in trying to carry her point. Cardinal Lorraine appears to have been intrusted by her with the management of her property in France. The following passage, from one of his long confidential letters, is illustrative of this subject. After explaining the delusion she was under about her claims on the personals of the late Duke of Longueville, he says—

"I am very glad to find the convenience of this bearer, who is sure and faithful to inform you of news. He brings you the money that Pequillon sent you, which came with the Queen your daughter (to St Germains.) I promise you, Madame, that he is well-fitting and diligent in the management of your affairs, in which he labours earnestly, and eases me much. It seems to me that one cannot have chosen a man more worthy of this charge, where, I hope, he will do you service to your satisfaction.

[1] The original of this letter is in the Register House, Edinburgh: the orthography of our copy is modernised.

"As to your money in hand, I will take care to employ it to your profit, and if I can find it convenient, (this will be in the purchase of some house near yours at Meudon,)—if so, you will please to command me. I expect, every day, your property from Chasteaudun. When it is come, I shall have it locked up, and taken care of with your rings and jewels that I have, so that nothing shall be lost—until you please to tell me what to do with them."[1]

After these pecuniary details, the Cardinal proceeds to relate the news of various members of the family, in which his absent sister would, of course, take an affectionate interest. These being all historical characters, it may not be displeasing to the readers of Mary of Lorraine's biography to read what he communicated—

"Monsieur de Lorraine[2] conducts himself very well, and is in most high favour with the King, (Henry II.,) and in the good graces of not only all the world, on account of his worth, but even in those of Madame Claude.[3]

"His dominions are now in perfect safety, being circled and fenced on all sides by places that are under the power and authority of the King, (Henry II.,) who proceeds there so frankly, and with such good-will, that we can rest assured of seeing our house in good repose and tranquillity, (although the contrary is said by many,) for the Emperor is withdrawn from before Metz in such condition as you have heard before, not having left there one man.

"Monsieur our brother (Francis, Duke of Guise, le Balafré) has returned about fifteen days. He went to meet the King, on his return from Amboise, with so noble and grand a company that a finer has not been seen for a long time. And I must tell you, Madame, that not only the King, but all in this realm, hold him in consideration and esteem. Not only these, but strangers, and even enemies, deem him the most valiant man in all Christendom. He is in good health, God be thanked, as madame my sister lets you see by her letters.

"We are after raising the means for the redemption of our brother, d'Aumale,[4] offering to pay a ranson of 40,000 crowns. This is a great deal: never has been seen a man of his quality pay so much. However, the King will give his aid, and his friends will not think much of making up this sum, if it will restore him."

It would give us great pleasure to be able to name the quota which, we hope, Mary of Lorraine added to the family

[1] In the Balcarres Collection, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

[2] The head of the house of Guise being Duke of Lorraine, he was betrothed to Claude, second daughter of France, and one of Mary's young companions.

[3] His intended wife.

[4] He was prisoner of Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, having been captured in 1552, at the combat of La Cervix du Moutier, near St Nicolas of Lorraine. He was released the following year for a ransom of sixty thousand crowns.

subscription for the ransom of her captive brother d'Aumale; but, it is to be observed, the Cardinal does not ask her to contribute.

"Our lady mother," continues he, "is returned to Joinville, where she feels more at ease than in Paris. This is all the news I can write at present."[1]

The Cardinal had commenced this letter with commendations of the little Queen of Scotland, his niece, telling his sister "that she daily increased in stature, goodness, beauty, wisdom, and virtue." He urged the royal mother, in his postscript, to furnish the requisite funds for forming a separate establishment for her, of which he sends the plan and estimate, "arranged," as he considers, "on the most economical basis; but which, nevertheless, would amount to no less a sum than 50,000 francs per annum: 60,000," he slily adds, "would do better." His consciousness that the Queen-mother would be loath to apply so large a sum to this object, is implied by the urgency with which he insists on the expediency of a measure which would secure to her the maternal privilege of naming the attendants of her child, and having them all under her own control, which could not be the case if she allowed them to be paid by the King of France.

"For God's sake, Madame, consider well, and do not lose your authority; but, when M. d'Oysell comes, send the money. As for me, Madame, all my powers are devoted to the service of both mother and daughter, and to attend whatever it may please them to enjoin; and hope so to manage as to give content. I beg you to rest assured, Madame, that you have such a daughter as any one might be satisfied with. Never was any one better brought up, and you must acknowledge that Madame de Parois has done so well, that no one could exceed her; and you are sure that God is well served, and after the old fashion. The bearer will tell you the harangue that the Queen, your daughter, made to the King."[2]

This letter is dated St Germain-en-Laye, 25th day of Feb. 1552-3. The sensible advice it contains was not lost on the royal mother, who, however reluctant she might be to devote so large a sum from her personal income to

[1] Balcarres Collection.

[2] For the account of this, see the forthcoming Biography of Queen Mary, in which it will be shown that Cardinal Lorraine, with all his care for the education of his royal niece, was much deceived in his estimate of her French governess, Madame de Parois.

the establishment of her daughter's household—which ought, in point of right, to have been furnished from the royal revenues of Scotland—made the desired sacrifice, and continued her maternal control over the most minute details of the young Queen's domestic arrangements and expenditure.

Henry II. of France kept up a constant correspondence with Mary of Lorraine, informing her not only of anything agreeable and interesting about their little daughter, the Queen of Scotland, as he always terms Mary Stuart, but relating all his military movements. In one of his letters, he alludes with great feeling to the death of the young King of England, Edward VI., the affianced of his daughter, Elizabeth of France. He not only claims, but expects, the sympathy of his royal correspondent in the grief he feels at this sad event, apologising for not writing to her more at length. "Having learned," says he, "as you will, the death of so good a brother, son, and friend, as I account the young King who is just dead, you, madame, my good sister, loving me as you do, will join with me in lamenting the unspeakable and afflicting loss I have sustained by this."

Henry had delighted himself with the idea that the two young Albion Sovereigns, Edward of England and Mary of Scotland, both so eminently endowed by nature with beauty and intellectual promise, would become his children by marriage; but the connection between either Tudor or Stuart and Valois, was always destined to be early dissolved by death.

In another of Henry II.'s letters to his good sister, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, we find a curious detail of a bargain between her late husband, James V. of Scotland, and a merchant of Leith, affording a curious specimen of the manner in which church patronage was occasionally jobbed by the Crown in that realm. The French monarch tells the story in these brief and business-like terms:—

"John Acheson, who is an archer in my Scotch Guards, gives me to understand that in the lifetime of the late King, my brother, (whom God pardon,) they began to fortify a haven called the Mill Port, near Little Leith, on the patrimony of the said Acheson, to receive ships in all winds and tides. And his father, in the commencement of this undertaking, expended a considerable sum of money, under the hope which my late

good brother had by his promises of providing for one of his sons by some benefice given him; and this has not been fulfilled because the said fortifications remain incomplete. But as this harbour is one of the principal ports of the realm of Scotland, it would be very desirable if the works were finished. And the said Acheson offers to do this at his own expense, to fix two gates and two bastions for their defence, provided that, according to the promise of my late good brother, one of his sons be given livings to the value of about a thousand pounds a-year, or a pension to that amount out of the first Abbey that becomes vacant in the realm of Scotland."

Henry II. urges his good sister to bestow her attention on this proposal, and to take advice whether it will not be greatly to the interest and advantage of the realm to accept so excellent an offer; but without the slightest inquiry how far any one of the Acheson lads might be qualified to perform clerical duties—supposing, of course, that the promises of King James, and his own powerful recommendation, would be all-sufficient to induce the royal widow to fulfil the bargain in his client's behalf. He requests her Majesty also to permit John Acheson to raise a hundred Scotch light horse for his service, he having appointed the said John to the captaincy of that company, as a reward for the zeal he has always shown in his service.[1]

It ought to be recorded as an amiable trait on the part of the royal widow of James V., that she facilitated the marriage of the daughter of that Prince by the Lady of Lochleven, called the Lady Jean, with Archibald, the eldest son of the Earl of Argyle, by assisting, from her own privy purse, to endow her with a portion suitable to the expectations of the father of the bridegroom.[2] That nobleman had aspired to a much loftier alliance, having demanded the hand of the young Queen, in the first month of her life and reign, for his heir; but seeing she was pledged to a consort of suitable rank and age, he was persuaded by the Queen-mother to accept the Lady Jean for a daughter-in-law, when her *tocher* had been sufficiently augmented by that Princess and the Prior of St Andrews, who gave in like proportion. Lady Jean,

[1] Letters of Henry II. of France, printed in the Maitland Club Miscellany, p. 235-6. Dated at Fontainebleau, Dec. 22, 1553.

[2] A copy of the contract certifying this fact is preserved among the Archives of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, No. 183. Printed in abstract by the Maitland Club.

who was not more than eight years old at the time of her royal father's death, had been received into the family of the widowed Queen, and treated almost as an adopted daughter. The bridal took place under her Majesty's auspices, in July 1553, at Stirling, where she kept her court with great splendour during that year, having attracted round her all the most influential persons in the realm, and continued daily to add to the strength of her party. She was now entirely estranged from the Governor, who always found himself at discount with the people when deprived of the sunshine of her presence at his fêtes and public ceremonials; and, though excessively jealous of her popularity, knew not how to carry on the relations with foreign princes without her advice, or to keep the Lords of the Council from perpetual brawls, unless she were at hand to act as a pacificator. His brother, the Archbishop of St Andrews, with all his subtlety, could not compensate to him for the desertion, much less the hostility, of the Queen Dowager; and, to make the matter worse, all the ladies had leagued themselves with her, and had flown off to her brilliant court at Stirling, leaving him at Edinburgh deserted and forlorn. Some of his partisans resorted to the paltry expedient of attacking his fair rival on the score of her sex, and dispersed sundry libels and invectives against the government of women.[1] But the authors of these small preludes to Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet* evidently lacked the talent of the great Reformer, for they failed to produce the desired impression of creating a prejudice against Mary of Lorraine, who had not at that time done anything to alienate the affection with which she was regarded by the people of Scotland. Those Scottish peers who had formerly been the pensioners of England were almost to a man allied with her; for, in addition to all the other advantages she possessed over the Governor, she boasted that most persuasive one—a full purse. The Governor was overwhelmed with pecuniary embarrassments, both public and personal.

[1] Balfour's Annals, vol. i. p. 400.

Not only had he involved the realm in a heavy debt, but he had dissipated the royal treasure, and disposed of many of the Crown jewels which had been confided to his keeping; and for these things he was liable to be called to account at the meeting of Parliament. It was the fear of being exposed to the ordeal of such an inquiry, and appearing in the light of a defaulter, that decided Arran on conceding the point so much desired by the Queen-mother, even more, perhaps, than the difficulties of carrying on the government of a malcontent realm with an empty exchequer. He was no financier, and understood little of the expedient of raising money on credit. Taxation, he knew, would not be paid without its being enforced, and this he was not in a position to attempt. The Queen-mother had called a convention of the nobles at Stirling, and through the persuasions of the Earl of Huntley, and some of the more influential of the party professing to be neutral, he came and entered into an amicable negotiation with her for the conditions of his abdication. The most important of these was, that he should be discharged from all inconvenient inquiries into the manner in which he had expended the Crown rents, revenues, and treasure intrusted to his management when he assumed the regency; and the Queen Dowager pledged herself to receive such of King James's jewels, plate, and garments, as he might be able to render up, without checking him by the inventory of those that were delivered into his keeping, or calling upon him to account for the deficiencies—her Grace being very happy to get anything back, after they had rested eleven years in his custody.[1] She promised, moreover, to obtain from the King of France a full and sufficient confirmation to him of the dukedom of Châtelherault, with all the immunities and revenues thereof, and an annual pension of twelve thousand crowns; also to obtain from the Estates of Scotland his recognition as the rightful successor to the Crown in the event of her daughter's decease without issue, and that he should retain possession of the royal fortress of

[1] Lesley's History of Scotland.

Dumbarton till the young Queen should arrive at full age to govern by her own authority. The castle of Edinburgh was delivered, as a sort of earnest of this agreement, by the Governor into the hands of Lord Erskine. Then the Queen-mother sent with all speed to France, to obtain the discharges, gifts, confirmations, and commissions, and to make all other arrangements that were necessary to be had before the meeting of the next Parliament.[1]

The earliest period at which the first act of regality—the choice of guardians—could be performed by an orphan sovereign was twelve years; the young Queen lacked eight months of that age when the Estates of Scotland met for the purpose of ratifying the Earl of Arran's resignation of the Regency of Scotland into the hands of her deputy, M. d'Oysell, the French ambassador, and his transfer of the same, by her authority, to her royal mother. This peaceful revolution took place on the 12th of April 1554. Everything was conducted with the pomp of a royal ceremonial. The Governor, accompanied by the nobles and his usual retinue—the crown, sceptre, and sword of state borne before him—rode from the Palace of Holyrood, up the Canongate, to the Old Tolbooth, where the Parliament was to meet, half a mile distant from Holyrood. Then, in a separate cavalcade, rode the Queen-mother, accompanied by the French ambassador, and attended by her ladies and officers of state.[2] Being conducted into the Parliament-hall, she took her seat, the Governor occupying the place of state, as the representative of the young Sovereign. Then the Parliament was *fenced*, (opened with prayer, and an exhortation to the persons of whom it was composed to perform their duty *leal* and well—that is, truly and conscientiously—to God, their country, and their Queen;) and it was declared to have met in the name of their Sovereign Lady, Queen Mary, with consent of James, Duke of Châtelherault and Earl of Arran, her tutor, and Governor of her realm. All the contracts made betwixt the Queen-mother and the Governor were read,

[1] Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 245-249.
[2] Lindsay of Pitscottie, Chron., 514.

and confirmed by the authority of the young Sovereign, whose commission was given for that purpose to the French ambassador, M. d'Oysell. Then the said Duke of Châtelherault and Earl of Arran, having been duly recognised as the heir-presumptive to the throne, renounced or demitted his authority as Governor of the realm of Scotland, and, descending from his place, resigned the crown, sceptre, and other regal insignia, into the hands of M. d'Oysell; who having received the same in the name of the absent Sovereign, read a commission executed by her in France, with consent of her curators, in most ample form, constituting the Queen, her dearest mother, Regent of her realm and lieges. When this was concluded, M. d'Oysell presented the crown, sceptre, and sword, in the name of the young Sovereign of Scotland, to the Queen Dowager. Mary of Lorraine then, rising from her seat, signified her acceptance of the same, and was immediately inducted into the chair of state which the late Governor had vacated, and received the homage and congratulations of the nobles in recognition of her authority as Queen-Regent of Scotland.[1] Knox implies that she was honoured with a regal investiture on this occasion, unless we are to regard his assertion that "a crown was put upon her head" as purely allegorical—a trope and figure necessary for the introduction of the following small "blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women," indicative of his contempt for the fair sex in general, and of the mother of his Sovereign in particular: "And a crown put upon her head, as seemly a sight (if men had eyes) as to put a saddle on the back of an unruly cow." This choice metaphor is irresistibly ludicrous in the original orthography of Maister John, who spells the above quadruped *kow*.[2]

Whether the regal circlet were actually placed on the brow of Mary of Lorraine, or, as in France, a regent's crown were used on that occasion, might be an interesting

[1] Lesley, 27-50. Lindsay of Pitscottie, 514. Tytler, vol. vi. 57-8. Robertson. Anderson, MS. History of Scotland.

[2] Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 242, edited by D. Laing, Esq.

question in a history of ceremonial precedents, but is, after all, of little moment in the present day, when types and symbols of all kinds are regarded as antiquated toys of the ages of poetry and romance. The Parliament, which had been convened and opened by the authority of the late Governor, having been discharged of obedience to him, was reopened in the name of the Queen, by the Queen-Regent, for despatch of business.[1] The Earl of Arran, or, as he must henceforth be styled, the Duke of Châtelherault, took his seat as the premier noble of Scotland, and first prince of the blood-royal, and as such he rode in the cavalcade which attended the triumphal return of Mary of Lorraine from the Parliament House, through Edinburgh, to Holyrood Abbey—the crown, sceptre, and sword of state being borne before her by the same lords who had carried them before the late Governor, as he passed up the Canongate to the opening of the Parliament.

The Queen-Regent returned in high spirits to her palace, and presided in person at a sumptuous banquet which she gave to the late Governor, the French ambassador, and his suite, and all the Scottish nobles who had attended the opening of the Parliament.[2] This proud day, which had placed her at the summit of her ambition, closed with public festivities and bonfires—balefires they proved both to Scotland and herself; and could she have seen the direful array of woes which the consummation of her long-cherished wish of grasping the fatal sceptre of the royal dynasty of Stuart was to entail on herself, and her daughter after her, she would have flung it from her in dismay, and prayed to be permitted to exchange it for the distaff; she would have abandoned council-chambers, and conventions of turbulent barons and contentious priests, to resume the more congenial occupation of presiding over the peaceful labours of the loom and the embroidery-frame among her ladies, or encouraging the operations of her French miners on Crawford Moor.

Among the various complimentary epistles addressed to

[1] Lesley, 250. Lindsay of Pitscottie. Tytler.
[2] Lindsay of Pitscottie.

Mary of Lorraine by the sovereigns of Europe, on her elevation to her new dignity, none could have been half so gratifying to her as the following artless little letter from her own loving and dutiful child, Mary Stuart, in which the pleasure felt by the young Queen at the nobles of Scotland having confirmed her appointment to the regency is so simply and naturally expressed:—

"MADAME,—I am very glad to have found so good an opportunity to write to you, as I am still at this place of Meudon with my lady grandmother, [*Antoinette, Duchess-dowager de Guise.*] The King and Queen are coming here next Thursday to the baptism of my little cousin. My uncle, Monsieur the Cardinal, has told me how all the lords of my kingdom are quite willing to obey you, and to do both for you and me whatever you may be pleased to command; by which I understand their good-will, and am much rejoiced. Desiring very much to have tidings from yourself, I present, in the mean time, my humble commendations to your good Grace. Praying God, Madame, to give you good health, and a very happy and long life,

"Your very humble and very obedient daughter,

"MARIE."[1]

On her assumption of the regency, Mary of Lorraine found herself in no very enviable position, her predecessor in that office having left her to contend with the difficulties of an empty exchequer and a national debt. She had pretty nearly exhausted her own resources, ample as they were, by the excessive sums she had disbursed in bribes, in order to obtain the suffrages of the corrupt portion of the aristocracy. It is true that she had paid many of her partisans in promises, and, like most successful candidates at a sharply contested election, she had promised a hundredfold more than she was able to perform. She made enemies, of course, of those whom she could not satisfy. Being mainly indebted to her popularity with the party attached to the principles of the Reformation, for her elevation to the vice-throne, she was especially bound to evince her gratitude

[1] There is no date to this letter, but the allusion to her mother's recognition by the nobles as their Regent, indicates the period at which it was penned by the juvenile Sovereign of Scotland. It is printed in the original French in Prince Labanoff's Collection of Mary Stuart's Letters, vol. i. p. 19, having previously appeared also in Mr Maidment's interesting selection of royal letters, addressed to Mary, Queen Dowager of Scotland, from the Balcarres MSS. in the Advocates' Library, where the veritable autograph letters are preserved.

for the services they had rendered her. The favour she manifested to this portion of her daughter's subjects, and the toleration tacitly extended by her to their preachers, gave great offence to the Scotch hierarchy, at the head of which body was her powerful adversary the Archbishop of St Andrews, the leader of the opposition to her government.[1] A member of the Papal Church herself, and of course under the spiritual direction of her confessor, it was impossible for this Princess to be a nursing mother of the Reformed Church, however liberal her views might be in regard to religious toleration. Her feeling in this respect was shown during the first years of her regency, by her affording an asylum in Scotland to the English Reformers, who fled from the terrors of the persecution in their own country.[2] Her great object appears to have been to maintain a conciliatory policy in her domestic government; but she was placed between two struggling powers, closely matched in strength. Each claimed her assistance: she could not grant enough to satisfy the Reformers, and she offended the Roman Catholics by granting their opponents anything. To please both was impossible, even if she had been what she unfortunately was not, a single-minded person, and had been guided by honest and able advisers. It must be remembered that, by sending her daughter to the Court of France, she had placed herself in a state of subserviency to the Sovereign whom she had rashly put in possession of that precious pledge. That cool calculating politician, Henry II., intent only on serving his own interests, took an ungenerous advantage of the power she had given him, and, under the flattering guise of friendship, assumed an attitude of dictation in many things which were productive of most injurious effects to both mother and daughter. He induced Mary of Lorraine to take a most unpopular step in the very commencement of her regency, by not only filling her own household with her countrymen, but by intruding French statesmen into her cabinet council, and the highest offices in the realm; thus piquing the

[1] Melville. Robertson. Maitland's Narrative. [2] Robertson.

national pride and jealousy of the Scotch, who ought to have possessed the most distinguished place in her regard. The French Sovereign had, it is true, been liberal of his pensions, places, and patronage on his side—France then affording a grand field for the enterprise of the cadets of noble Scotch families who were desirous of improving their fortunes by entering foreign service. But these reciprocal advantages were neither felt nor acknowledged by those who remained at home, desiring offices of distinction in their native land, and beheld with displeasure the successful competition of French subjects for such posts. Monsieur de Villemort was made Comptroller—an office of great importance, and sorely grudged to a foreigner. The Earl of Cassillis, who had been mainly instrumental in the great revolution which placed Mary of Lorraine at the helm of state, was rewarded with the place of Lord Treasurer. The Earl of Huntley, to whom she was under signal obligations for his long and faithful devotion to her interests, she retained in his office of Lord Chancellor, but provided him with one of her countrymen, Monsieur de Rubay, as a Vice-Chancellor, who by degrees got all the executive power into his own possession. Rubay was an honest man; but his ignorance of Scotch law, (a very intricate matter even in the present times,) and inexperience in the customs, precedents, and language of the country, created great mistakes and inconveniences.[1] The Earl of Huntley himself was not the most suitable person in the world to be intrusted with the office of head of the High Court of Chancery, for he was more accustomed to the use of the sword than the pen, being one of the great military chiefs of Scotland. In that capacity he was sent by the Queen-Regent to put down a turbulent clan in the north, which had long defied the late Governor's authority, and continued in insurrection under their fierce

[1] Narrative of Affairs by the younger Maitland of Lethington, in the possession of —— Fitch, Esq. of Ipswich—privately printed. Andrew Dury, Bishop of Galloway, who made pretensions to the character of a wit and a poet, perpetrated the following punning epigram on the name of Rubay:—

"Fra France we thought to have gotten a Rubie,
And yet is he nothing but a *cow-huby*."

—meaning not brighter in his office than a cow-boy. Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 202.

leader, John of Moidart. . The expedition proved a failure, because the Lowland lords and their followers refused to serve when they found it was a country where they could not take their horses; and the Highlanders would not follow his banner on account of his having, four years previously, used his marital authority to compel his Countess, while he was himself absent in France, to behead the chief of the clan Chattan, who was a prisoner in his castle, and whose only offence was that he had refused to put himself and clan under obedience to him.[1] Huntley was above the reach of the offended laws when this crime was committed; but, the failure of his expedition against Clanronald bringing him into disgrace with the Queen-Regent, she was not unwilling to hear the complaints that were now made to her in council by the kinsmen of the murdered man. The offence was proven, and he was adjudged to be punished at the Queen's pleasure. Some of the council were for putting him to death, others for banishing him; but by the advice of her prime-minister, the Earl of Cassillis, she inflicted a heavy fine, suspended him from the performance of his duties as Lord Chancellor, and allowed him to compound for his life by a voluntary resignation of the earldoms of Moray and Mar.[2] Greatly has Mary of Lorraine been censured for her severity to this nobleman; but if the highest law-officer in the realm she governed had been allowed to commit so atrocious an offence with impunity, because he had been her partisan, she would have merited general execration. The real cause of reprehension was the despotic manner of punishment, and the fact that she made a profitable addition to her revenue out of his forfeitures. Huntley was the most powerful of the Roman Catholic peers of Scotland, and she greatly weakened her political interest by depriving herself of his support.

It was but a few brief months previous to the disgrace of this nobleman that the Queen-Regent told the Earl of Angus that Huntley had done her such good service that she intended to create him a duke. "Why not, madam?"

[1] Narrative of Maitland of Lethington. Buchanan.
[2] Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 233.

replied Angus. "Happy are we, having such a Princess who will acknowledge service; but, by the might of God, (such was his oath when angry, on other occasions it was by St Bride of Douglas,) if Huntley be a duke I will be a drake."[1] In order to understand the point of this witticism, it is necessary to explain that Angus was punning on the old-fashioned custom in Scotland of spelling and pronouncing duke *duck*, precisely as if it were synonymous to the same word. Angus meant to imply to his royal mistress that he would still be her duke's superior.[2]

Soon after her appointment to the regency, Mary of Lorraine resumed her mining researches with renewed ardour, not only at Crawford Moor, but in other parts of Scotland. The Laird of Cockpen was employed, by her especial precept and command, to pass and search the hills of Falkland and the *coal-trench* of Linlithgow, "for coals and metals, and to give account to her of the result of his investigations—forty pounds Scots being allowed for his expenses.[3] There are charges for a copper kettle sent to the English miners at Crawford Moor, £3, 1s. By the price, it must have been a caldron. Seven stones of lead were sent to them at the same time, (August 24, 1554,) to fine the gold with.[4] It is possible that, from the success of her mining adventures, Mary of Lorraine derived the funds that enabled her to clear Scotland from the debts with which her predecessor in office had embarrassed the realm.[5]

[1] Hume of Godscroft's History of the Douglases.
[2] Chalmers. Tytler. Lesley.
[3] Treasury Records. [4] Ibid.
[5] Twenty years later Queen Elizabeth, who became virtually the Sovereign of Scotland during the captivity of her hapless kinswoman Queen Mary, having heard tempting tales of the golden harvests to be gathered in Crawford Moor, sent a German to collect gold-dust in the waters of Elvan and Glengower, both which have their sources in the hills where the lead is found. According to oral local rhymes still repeated in the district, this foreign adventurer worked successfully enough for himself, and amassed great wealth. The spot where he worked the gold is still pointed out by the traditional name of the Gold Scour. He wrote an account of his proceedings, the MS. of which is preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Specimens of gold are still to be found on the tops of the rocks, but the real wealth of Crawford Moor consists in its rich lead mines. —Statistical Account, by Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

The Queen-Regent held a parliament in June 1555, after which she went in royal state into the southern counties to hold justiciary courts; and from the testimony of an English nobleman, whose letter is quoted in Strype, it seems she conducted herself with some ability and energy on that occasion. "So far as I can learn," writes he, (July 19th) "the Scotch Queen doth greatly desire that justice be ministered on the Borders; and for the mere appearance thereof, since her repair to Jedworth, I do well understand that she hath called before her divers of the worst and greatest faulters both of Teviotdale and the March, and doth punish them in ward."[1] Mary of Lorraine's late royal lord, James V., proceeded with greater severity, and sent the Border thieves to the gallows with very little scruple or lenity: she, acting with feminine tenderness towards human life, contented herself with the lighter chastisement of imprisonment. She left Jedburgh on the 13th of July, and came the same night to Kelso, and so along the Borders to Hume Castle, Langton, Dunbar, and Haddington. She travailed very earnestly, during this queenly progress, to reconcile the neighbourly feuds and enmities that existed among the aristocracy of that part of the realm; and exerted her influence in the most persuasive manner she could to bring them into peace and amity with one another. Of the most quarrelsome she took pledges for the better preservation of good order.[2]

The Earl of Atholl, whom she had despatched to reduce the turbulent chief of Clanronald, John of Moidart, to obedience, brought him and his two sons into her presence to make personal submission to her, and throw themselves on her mercy for past offences. "She, as a clement and prudent Princess, pardoned them, more out of her goodness than their desert," observes Lesley, and merely ordered them to remain for the present in honourable ward in the castle of Methven and the town of Perth, where they were well treated. But they would not bide even this light restraint on their mischievous activity, and returned secretly

[1] Fragment of a letter from Lord Conyers to the Earl of Shrewsbury, cited by Keith, Appendix, p. 84. [2] Ibid.

into their own country, where they committed fresh disorders. Others, imitating their example, vexed the Queen-Regent much, and put her under the necessity of making a military progress to the north, in order to quell these disorderly movements, in which she fully succeeded.[1] The French ambassador, and others of Henry II.'s emissaries in her council, took occasion, from these frequent struggles against regal authority, to persuade the Queen-Regent that she must, both for the sake of the Sovereign and the people, follow the enlightened policy of Henry VII. of England, in breaking the power of the aristocracy by preventing the great nobles of the realm from maintaining bands of feudal retainers under subjection to their personal commands, which superseded the fealty they owed to their Prince. As the first step towards this alteration, she caused proclamation to be made, prohibiting any nobleman to be followed by any greater number of his dependents than his domestic servants, especially at conventions, meetings of Parliament, or any other public occasion. The Earl of Angus came immediately to pay his compliments to her in Edinburgh, at the head of a thousand horsemen. Her Majesty reproved him for having set her proclamation at nought. "Well, madam," replied the sturdy old Earl, "the knaves will follow me. Gladly would I be rid of them, for they devour all my beef and my bread; and much, madam, should I be beholden to you, if you could tell me how to get quit of them." This was a leading question, to draw from her an explanation of the plan she was meditating for the introduction of a standing army, composed partly of foreign troops, who would be independent of the feudal control of the baronage of Scotland. She confided her design to Angus, and solicited his support to a measure which, she said, "would prevent the realm from being surprised by the old enemy on future occasions." The Earl replied bluntly, "We will fight ourselves, and that better than any hired fellows!"[2] If he had never stained his hands with the bribes of England, this rejoinder might have been inscribed

[1] Lesley's History of Queen Mary.
[2] Hume of Godscroft's History of the Douglases.

on his tomb in letters of gold, as a noble illustration of true patriotism, that "cheap defence of nations." At another interview which took place on the occasion of some court banquet or re-union, the Queen, in conversation with Angus, made a proposal to place one of her garrisons of paid mercenaries in his castle of Tantallan. Angus listened to all she said for some time, and gave no answer, unless the speech could be called one which he addressed to his goshawk — for, according to the fashion of the times, he had brought one to her table on his wrist. He was apparently intent on feeding this feathered follower with scraps from his plate, and when the Queen paused for reply, he exclaimed to his gay goshawk, in reproof for her voracity, "Greedy gled, greedy gled! thou hast too much already, and yet desirest more?" The Queen-Regent, not seeming to take this metaphorical reproof to herself, again mentioned the introduction of her garrison into Tantallan. "Oh yes, madam," cried he — "why not, madam? all is yours—ye shall have it. But, madam, I must be captain of your muster, and keeper of Tantallan."[1]

In the present age, when the liberty of the people exceeds everything that was ever dreamed of three hundred years ago, a standing army is considered necessary for the preservation of domestic peace and good order, as well as the defence of the realm from foreign aggression. It has become part and parcel of a system of government, to the maintenance of which all persons, interested in the rights of property are willing to contribute. Some uneasiness would probably be felt were the country now dependant for defence on a rural militia, hastily raised in the time of need, unaccustomed to the subordination of graduated authority, and requiring many months of practical experience ere the officers could acquire the science of command, or the privates that of obedience. The rights of the Sovereign and people are well defined, and the laws cannot be broken by the members of any class, to the injury of the weaker

[1] Hume of Godscroft's History of the Douglases.

links of the great social chain, without condign punishment. Peaceful relations are established with all the world, therefore the continuation of a military force in perpetuity may be regarded rather as a prudential measure, for the prevention of unforeseen evils that might occur, than for any cause at present apparent. But if ever there was a necessity for the introduction of a regularly organised military force into a country, it was during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Scotland, when the abuses of the feudal system filled the nation with scenes of blood and violence. A combination of half-a-dozen of the turbulent magnates, who each brought a standing army under his own despotic command to attend the meetings of Parliament, could at any time decide questions of domestic policy with the claymore or the dirk, control the Sovereign, and hang his ministry without benefit of clergy. The evidences of history—the history of Scotland, in particular—have proved that of all tyrannies that of an armed oligarchy is the most oppressive and terrible to a country, and the most subversive of national honour. The Sovereign, in times of public danger, depended principally on the feudal bands of the territorial nobles for the means of defending his realm. As long as the barons of Scotland remained true to their country, they were willing to unite manfully against the general enemy, deferring private quarrels and insurrectionary movements till they had performed their duty to her by "*cleansing* the land from invaders." A deterioration from this high principle had taken place among a considerable section of these, the natural bulwarks of the realm, through the corrupting influence of English gold. They had stood aloof while the flames of Edinburgh, and all the towns and villages along the Firth, rose like funeral beacons to summon them to the duty of avengers—but in vain; and they had left Frenchmen to claim the honour of "cleansing their native land" from her cruel devastators, after permitting seven years of woe to be inflicted on her. The names of two hundred of those who should have been foremost to do this stood inscribed in the degrading bond of bribery, whereby their agent, Mr Henry Balnaves, had

insured their services to the English sovereign.[1] It was plain that Scotland could no longer rely on her ancient system for defence, having been reduced to the dire necessity of calling in the aid of foreign troops in the hour of her distress—a dangerous precedent. Mary of Lorraine was persuaded that the only security against a recurrence of the like evils would be the establishment of a regularly paid and organised national guard, composed of men independent of the control of the nobles, to be supported by a small land-tax; in preparation for which it was proposed to have a general survey of Scotland, made in rolls for every county—on the plan of the Doomsday-Book—wherein the value of every man's estate or other tangible property should be registered, in order that each should be assessed for this purpose in a ratio proportioned to his means, and excused from personal military service, to which every landed proprietor was liable to be summoned without payment, and expected to bring from ten to forty days' provision with him. If these measures were innovations on the ancient customs of the country, there was no attempt to introduce them in any other than a constitutional manner; for the Queen-Regent opened and explained the nature of her plans in a clear and business-like manner in a speech to the Parliament, and submitted them to the consideration of the estates of her daughter's realm. The project was too bold, it was supposed, for a female legislator, and was suspected to have been prompted by her French advisers, d'Oysell, Rubay, and Villemort, at the suggestion of Henry II. of France. Nevertheless, the Scotch lords of her council had all approved and urged her Majesty to adopt the course she had done.[2] The other nobles being aware that the establishment of a standing army, paid by the Crown, would act as a counterpoise to their power, and end in depriving them of their privileges to do no right and take no wrong, were alike reluctant to the measure, and the means of carrying it into effect; yet they left the duty of opposing it openly to

[1] Tytler. MS. Letters in the State Paper Office.
[2] Keith. Lesley. Tytler. Robertson. Tytler, Narrative of Maitland of Lethington.

the upper middle class. Three hundred of these gentlemen convened in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and deputed Sir James Sandilands of Calder, and the brave old Laird of Wemyss, to present a spirited remonstrance to her Majesty against the bold propositions. They spoke eloquently, and at the same time with the cautious deference due to the sex and rank of her they addressed, objecting both to the tax, the purpose in which it was to be employed, and, above all, to the valuation, no man liking the amount of his property to be declared to his neighbours—an objection, by the bye, equally applicable to the inquisitorial proceedings of the commissioners for the income-tax, in our own refined and peaceful times.[1]

Mary of Lorraine listened with respectful attention to the brave Laird of Wemyss, whose deeds at St Monan's Kirk, when, with a handful of villagers, and rearguard of women and children, he had driven a thousand Englishmen back to their ships in dismay, had afforded a practical illustration of his words; and she immediately replied, "that, since it was displeasing to the people of Scotland, she would press the matter no farther, frankly acknowledging herself to blame for having proposed it."[2] When some one hinted that a measure so repugnant to the ancient customs of Scotland must have emanated from her French advisers, she replied, "It proceeded neither from them nor me, but was devised by some of your own nobles; but I hold them that were the inventors thereof little worthy of thanks, because it hath made a great grudge and murmur amongst the people of the realm."

This incident affords the first great instance of the political influence of a middle class in Scotland. The noble spirit in which these gentlemen asserted their rights, and the temperate manner in which it was done, are equally worthy of admiration. Without attempting to bully their female ruler, or calling in the aid of a ruffian mob to intimidate her, they appealed to her reason in the language of true patriotism—not the less patriotic for being courteous—

[1] Keith. Lesley. Tytler. Lord Herries. Maitland of Lethington. Buchanan.

[2] Ibid.

and prevailed. The wisdom of the Queen-Regent's concession, which was the more graceful because promptly made, almost atoned for her imprudence in proposing measures which she, as a foreign princess, would never have been allowed to carry into execution.

It is true that William of Orange, a descendant of Mary of Lorraine in the fifth generation, obtained from England, nearly a century and a half later, the grant of a land-tax[1] in perpetuity, and established a standing army also—greater innovations than the most despotic of her native monarchs had ever ventured to attempt. But then the Dutch Prince brought a foreign army with him, and raised money on national credit to enable him to replace it with English troops, or he had never succeeded in imposing the grievous and most unconstitutional taxes which, in addition to the legacy of the national debt, were left as memorials of his reign. The *canny* Scots of the sixteenth century, when they refused their fair Regent funds for establishing a standing army, had probably shrewd remembrance of the fate of the stately forest, which, having imprudently granted only as much wood to the hatchet as would supply it with a handle, was cut down root and branch by that very instrument.

Many wise and salutary regulations for the domestic weal of Scotland were established in the first three years of the regency of Mary of Lorraine. Her principal adviser in her domestic legislation, with regard to jurisprudence, was the learned Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow, Vice-President of the College of Justice, who had been a favourite counsellor of her late husband James V., but, finding himself neglected by the Governor Arran, had retired to France. Almost the first use the Queen-Regent made of her power was to invite him to return, and occupy his invaluable talents in effecting an extensive law reform, much required in all the executive branches of that important department of Government, especially in putting a check to the vexa-

[1] It may be said that the land-tax was voluntarily offered to the Dutch King, as indeed it was by the clever decoy-ducks of his party, whose generosity induced the geese of the nation to follow an example which their descendants still deeply rue.

tious delays and complicated processes devised by the cupidity of the lawyers, to increase and multiply fees in carrying on suits. Fortunately for the Queen-Regent, the reverend paladin to whom she deputed the herculean labour of cleansing those worse than Augean stables of corruption, the courts of justice of the sixteenth century, was a man not only peculiarly fitted for the office by his knowledge of the ancient statutes of the realm, but much esteemed by the nobles for his own unblemished integrity.[1] Encouraged by the widow of his late royal friend and master, Sinclair was eminently successful in his undertaking; so that the flood-tide of abuses was checked, and wholesome order restored, frivolous terms and dilations cut away, and justice administered more perfectly at that period than it had been in any time preceding.[2] The increasing gravity of her Majesty's court and council is manifested by statutes banishing "Robin Hood, Little John, the Queen of May, and prohibiting those ancient games and festivals, in which women singing about summer trees disturbed the Queen and her lieges in their progress through the country."[3]

Mary of Lorraine, in her progress to Inverness, was very honourably received wheresoever she came, and sumptuously entertained in the noblemen's, prelates', and barons' houses, so that the Frenchmen praised the hospitality of the country and its good cheer not a little: unfortunately she had too many foreign retainers, both in her household and council. A marked demonstration of displeasure on this subject was manifested by the Scotch nobles on the following occasion. David Panter, Bishop of Ross, having become too sickly and infirm to continue to perform the duties of Secretary of State, the Queen-Regent lamented to her council the great loss the country was likely to sustain from his retiring from public affairs, observing "that she knew of no one in the realm capable of succeeding him in his office,[4] which behoved to be filled by some person

[1] Lesley. Tytler. [2] Lesley. [3] Tytler.
[4] Narrative of young Maitland of Lethington—unpublished.

who, besides being skilled in affairs of state, must possess a perfect knowledge and use of speaking and writing well, both in Latin and French, so necessary in respect of the trade and intercourse with foreigners; therefore she greatly feared she should be forced to employ a stranger, albeit sore against her will." The nobles and other members of the council, by no means approving of this hint, replied "that their country afforded good spirits, and some of quality and birth fit and capable of that place, or even of a better;" naming William Maitland, the eldest son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, whom all the nobles earnestly recommended, especially the Earl of Cassillis, then Treasurer, who had great influence with the Queen-Regent. She readily complied with this requisition, but employed him at first chiefly as her ambassador to congratulate Philip and Mary on their marriage, and to arrange with them proper regulations for keeping the Border counties in good order. Afterwards she despatched him to the court of France to inform Henry II. and the young Queen of the state of the realm of Scotland.[1] By degrees this polished diplomatist, the Achitophel of Scottish history, acquired the favour and confidence of his royal mistress, till he gained great ascendency over her mind; and from that period it is easy to perceive her decadence in that of the nation she governed. By confirming his appointment to the office of Secretary of State, and admitting him to the performance of its duties, she put him in possession of her most secret thoughts and intentions, and, to use the forcible language of Chalmers, "placed a viper in her bosom." He was a man accomplished in all the classic learning of the age, and possessed of some literary talent. From his notes of the transactions of the two years in which he was the principal director of her secret councils, his son, William Maitland the younger, has drawn up a brief narrative of the history of that period,[2] written with some ability, for the purpose of charging all the blame of the change of policy then adopted on the

[1] Narrative of young Maitland of Lethington—unpublished.
[2] In possession of —— Fitch, Esq., of Ipswich—printed for private use.

Queen-Regent. One thing is particularly worthy of notice, which is the inconsistency of his censures on her Majesty for the liberality of her conduct with regard to the Reformers.

Mary of Lorraine, like most female rulers, possessed peculiar talents as a peace Sovereign. The social and judicial reforms she had effected, in the course of three years, her prudent attention to financial arrangements, and the general tone of conciliation employed by her on all occasions, had restored good order and tranquillity to Scotland, after twelve years of foreign invasion and internal strife. Happy would it have been, both for herself and the realm she governed, if she had been contented to continue to occupy her attention in the vocation for which nature had fitted her. Unfortunately, she suffered Henry II. of France, in the autumn of 1551, to employ her as a political tool in his quarrel with Philip II. of Spain. Mary, Queen of England, had assisted her consort with English troops; and Henry persuaded the Queen-Regent of Scotland to create a diversion in his favour, by breaking the peace with England.[1] Every Scotch sovereign, from Malcolm Canmore down to James IV., had made a point of invading England whenever that realm was either engaged in hostilities with France, or convulsed with civil war. Mary of Lorraine was without difficulty induced to take measures for following their evil example. Having convened the nobles at Newbattle, she addressed them in an eloquent speech, reminding them of the injuries Scotland had sustained from the English, and represented that it behoved them to embrace so favourable an opportunity of avenging their own wrongs, and performing, at the same time, an acceptable service to their faithful ally, the King of France. The nobles saw no just cause for embroiling themselves in that quarrel, refused to grant any of their feudal forces for such purpose, and protested against a war with England.[2] But the Borderers, always eager to break the peace, the moment they understood the bellicose inclination of the Queen-Regent crossed the frontier, and committed an

[1] Tytler's History of Scotland. Robertson. Keith. [2] Ibid.

aggression, in the like spirit which animates children to play at the exciting game, "Here am I, on Tom Tickler's ground, picking up gold and silver." Mary of Lorraine's Border lords went rather too far on the *ticklish* ground, and received a defeat at Blackbreye, which checked their ardour and threw a damp on the spirits of the warlike party. Her Majesty, however, nothing daunted, ordered d'Oysell to draw all the French garrisons from Dunbar and other fortresses, which had remained there ever since the expulsion of the English in 1549, and to rebuild the fort at Eyemouth, in violation of the late treaty. This produced a sortie from Berwick, and a declaration of war.[1]

The Queen-Regent then proclaimed a general muster for the defence of the realm. Upwards of forty thousand men appeared at Edinburgh in answer to her summons. From this undisciplined force she chose an army intended for the invasion of England, under the command of the Duke of Châtelherault, the late Governor, assisted by the Earls of Huntley and Argyll—proposing to play the Bellona on this occasion, by accompanying the host in person. Towards the end of September, she prepared to take the field. The English warden kept a vigilant eye on her movements, and gave the following intimation of the same to the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord-Lieutenant of the Border:—"The Queen of Scots hath her army in readiness, and doth intend to lay seige to Warke. She comes to Home Castle, where her provision is come already—forty tuns of wine." Each soldier would bring meat and bread for his own food, according to the old custom—

> "Each at his back a slender store,
> His forty days' provision, bore."

The general rendezvous was to be on Fala Moor!—an ominous place for the widow of James V., to recall to the minds of men who were just in the mood to take that name for their watch-word. A rumour had even reached the English warden that there were whispered resolutions

[1] Tytler. Buchanan. Lesley. Keith. Stephenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary.

of arresting her, if she persisted in her headstrong purpose. So serious were the symptoms of displeasure against her, that d'Oysell wrote in haste to the King of France, to send three or four hundred horsemen for her Life Guards.[1]

Mary of Lorraine, blind to her own peril, and determined to perform some very notable exploit with the assistance of the handful of veteran French troops under the command of d'Oysell, had empowered them to carry the artillery of the realm over the Tweed, in order to besiege Wark Castle. The nobles, headed by the Duke of Châtelherault, in great indignation convened an assembly at Maxwell Haugh, and passed a resolution, ordering d'Oysell to raise the siege and bring back the Scotch cannon, under peril of signal vengeance. Her Majesty being then at Kelso, close by, sent her Secretary of State, William Maitland—a person very acceptable to the malcontents—to give them her reasons for the step she had taken. But, instead of listening to her envoy, they all rose in a fury, menacing him with their daggers; and it was with the utmost difficulty he escaped, to bear the news of his peril to his royal mistress. Mary of Lorraine was impetuous in her resolves, yet easily intimidated. She expressed some anger on this occasion, but recalled d'Oysell and disbanded her army—not without tears. "It is observable," says Robertson, "that this first instance of contempt for the Regent's authority can in no degree be imputed to the influence of the new opinions in religion, as the Queen's pretensions to the Regency had been principally supported by those who favoured the Reformation; and, as she still needed them for a counterpoise to the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the partisans of the house of Hamilton, she continued to treat them with great respect, and admitted them to no inconsiderable share in her favour and confidence."

Unluckily for herself, this Princess had provoked the

[1] Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, 69, 70—Maitland Miscellany.

[2] Maitland's Narrative. Lesley. Tytler.

animosity of John Knox by her contemptuous treatment of the letter which he, by the desire of his congregation, addressed to her in the year 1556, exhorting her to eschew the errors of Rome, and become one of his hearers. The peculiar phraseology in which it was couched, combined with the droll orthography and northern idiom—produced a very different effect from what was intended; for, the letter being presented to her by Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, "when she had read it, she delivered it," says Knox, "to that proud prelate, Beton, Bishop of Glasgow, and said, in *mockage*, 'Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquil,'" [1] — meaning a pasquinade. Levity on such a subject was unbecoming in any one; but peculiarly so from a royal lady, whose elevated position, of course, embittered the sarcasm. Knox was himself a jester, and a shrewd one; but persons most addicted to the use of personal irony are least disposed to tolerate offensive witticisms from others. It may be that a keen perception of the ridiculous renders them more sensitive to the sting of such shafts than persons of milder manners, whose organs of wit and destructiveness are less irritably developed.

The rash jest of Mary of Lorraine was never forgiven by Knox, not even when the lips that uttered it were cold in death, and for ever closed in the silence of the grave. His feelings on this subject, towards both the mother and daughter, are thus expressed by his own pen, when relating the disrespectful epithet which the Queen-Regent had applied to his letter: "Which words coming to the ears of the said John, were the occasion that to his letter he made his additions, as yet may be seen. As concerning the threatenings pronounced against her own person, and the *most* principal of her friends, let their very flatterers see what hath failed of all that he has written. And therefore it were expedient that her daughter, now mischievously reigning, should look to that which hath passed before, lest, in following the counsels of the wicked, she end more miserably than her

[1] History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. i. p. 252.

crafty mother did."[1] An evil prophecy, to the fulfilment of which the prophet himself greatly contributed: so dangerous is it for royalty to give offence to those who possess the power of influencing the tone of public opinion.

Under existing circumstances, it was impossible for this Princess to please either party; and as she has been very severely dealt with by writers in general, it may be as well, by way of variety, to place the following record —from a pen by no means partial to either her or her daughter, that of Archbishop Spottiswoode — before the reader. "She was," says that eminent Protestant divine,[2] "a lady of honourable conditions, [disposition,] of singular judgment, full of humanity, a great lover of justice, helpful to the poor — especially those whom she knew to be indigent, but for shame could not beg. She was compassionate to women in travail, whom she did often visit in her own person, and help both with her skill and counsel. In her court she kept a wonderful gravity, tolerating no licentiousness; her maids were always busied in some virtuous exercise, and to them she was an example of modesty, chastity, and the best virtues. A great dexterity she had in government, which appeared in composing the tumults in the north, and in pacifying the Isles, which, by her wisdom, were reduced to perfect obedience. As to those wars which afflicted the kingdom in her last days, they had not fallen out at all, if affairs had been carried according to her mind; but in all matters she must needs attend responses from the French court, which were the oracles whereby all affairs were framed. This made her in religion more severe than of her own nature she was, and led her into errors of state, neglecting the natives and born nobles of the country, following the counsels of the French, who, minding nothing but bringing Scotland in subjection

[1] History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. i. p. 252. One of Knox's English allies, wishing to dispense with his services and company in the year 1552, alleged as his reason, in a letter to Cecil, "that he loved not to have to do with men who are neither grateful nor *pleaseable*." The Duke of Northumberland to Cecil, December 7, 1552. Orig. MS.—Privy Council Register of Edward VI.

[2] History of the Church of Scotland, p. 146.

to France, moved her to follow courses unsure and dishonourable. Otherwise she was of a most mild disposition, and was often heard to say, that, 'if her own counsel might take place, she doubted nothing of composing all the dissensions in the realm.' [These things," observes Spottiswoode, "I have heard my father often affirm, whose testimony deserved credit; and have many times received the like from an honourable and religious lady, who had the honour to wait near her person, and often professed to me 'that the Queen-Regent was much wronged in John Knox his story.'[1]] The author of the story ascribed to John Knox, whosoever he was—for I am persuaded it was none of Knox his writings—showeth a bitter and hateful spite against her, forging dishonest things, which was never so much as suspected by any, setting down his own conjectures as certain truths, and misinterpreting all her words and actions. Yea, the least syllable that did escape her in passion, he maketh it an argument of a cruel vindictive disposition."[2]

The pride and political importance of Mary of Lorraine, and all her aspiring kindred, were mightily increased by two events which took place in the early part of the year 1558—namely, the capture of Calais, the last relic of the English possessions in France, by the Duke de Guise, and the bridal of the young Queen of Scots with the Dauphin. As Mary of Lorraine was unable to leave the cares of the Regency to assist in the arrangement of the marriage articles, she empowered her widowed mother, Antoinette, Duchess-Dowager de Guise, by a formal instrument, to act as her proxy on that occasion; eight nobles and prelates being appointed by the Estates of Scotland,[3] to proceed to

[1] *History* is the word meant by the Archbishop, as he speaks of the tenor of the whole narrative, not of one story or anecdote. The passage contained between brackets is restored from Spottiswoode's original MS., from which honest Keith has printed it in his Appendix, with the notation that it had been suppressed in the printed copy of the Archbishop's work, of which it is an important portion, showing that he derived his authority for the above statements from the lips of two contemporaries of Mary of Lorraine—one his own father, who died in 1585, and was well acquainted with her; the other, one of the ladies of her household.

[2] Keith's Appendix, book i. p. 89.

[3] Keith's Appendix.

France as commissioners in behalf of the Sovereign and her realm. Full particulars of all the interesting facts connected with the celebration of these nuptials in Paris, and the fêtes which took place on that occasion, will be related in the biography of Mary Stuart. The reader must therefore be contented to remain in Scotland with the Queen-mother, during the brief period to which her earthly career was limited. Pleasure and pride of no ordinary degree it was, of course, for Mary of Lorraine to preside over the pageants and festivities with which Scotland commemorated her royal daughter's bridal with the young heir of France. Bonfires blazed on Arthur's Seat and other high places. From Edinburgh even to the Isles processions were made, and plays performed, for the recreation of the people. Moreover, "Mons Meg was raised forth from her lair," and opened her huge mouth in honour of this event—once, and once only; for the Queen-Regent was too thrifty to fire away the public money in powder, and carefully caused search to be made for Meg's bullet, which was found at Wardie Moor, a distance of two miles from Edinburgh, brought back to the Castle, and stored for some future occasion. The whole expenses incurred by the uplifting and firing of Meg, and bringing back her bullet, amounted to ten shillings and eightpence.[1]

The following congratulatory stanza on the bridal of her daughter was addressed to Mary of Lorraine by old Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, one of the Lords of Session:—

"OF THE QUENIS MARYAGE TO THE DOLPHIN OF FRANCE, 1558.

"O nobil Princess, and moder to our Queen!
With all thy hairt to God lift up thy ein,
And gif him thanks for grace he has thee send,
That he has maid thee instrument and mean
With maryage to coupill in ane chein
These tua realmis, ather to defend.
Think weil warit the tyme thou has done spend,
And the travale that thou has done sustein,
Sen it is brocht now to sa gude ane end."

[1] Royal Compotus, Register Office, Edinburgh.

Among the letters of congratulation received by the royal mother on this occasion, there was one from the celebrated Diana of Poictiers, Duchess de Valentinois, who, in consequence of her influence over Henry II. of France, was regarded as one of the political powers of the age. It was on this account that Mary of Lorraine, in compliance with the advice she had received from Lord Erskine, condescended to send polite messages to this woman from time to time, recommending the interests of the young Queen Mary to her care. The most flattering responses were always returned.

"I assure you," writes she, "as regards the Queen your daughter, that I will employ myself in rendering her service more than if she were my own daughter, for she merits it more. I can assure you, that she does not speak like a child, but like a person of fifty years old. The Scottish deputies have had the greatest pleasure in her company. I entreat you to believe, Madame, that you cannot honour with your friendship any person who has a greater desire to do you service than myself. Thanking you very humbly for the courteous message your chancellor delivered to me from you, and assuring you that there is no one who has more pleasure in the conclusion of the marriage of the Queen, your daughter, than myself, I pray our Lord that there may be long content to all parties concerned in it, and that he will give you, Madame, a very fortunate and happy life.

"Your very humble and very obedient servant,

"DIANN DE POYTIERS."[1]

Self-interest was the exciting cause of all the ardent affection professed by this lady to Mary of Lorraine and the fair young Queen of Scots,—Diana having set her mind on marrying her daughter to the Earl of Arran, who was at that time in the service of Henry II., as the colonel of his Scotch Guards. Mary of Lorraine was, of course, perfectly aware of this, the project having been opened to her nearly two years previously, in a letter from her royal daughter, coupled with a request that she would make Arran a duke, in order to render him more worthy of the honour that was designed him by the aspiring adventuress who controlled, at this period, the destinies of France and Scotland, and was most improperly permitted to hold familiar intercourse at will with the maiden Sovereign of Scotland, at that time only in her fourteenth year. "You

[1] Analecta Scotica.

know," wrote the artless young Queen to her royal mother, "how I am bound to Madame de Valentinois, to do all I can for her and hers, in return for the love she shows me more and more. I know not how this can be done better than by accomplishing what I see her heart is set upon, which is for my cousin, the Earl of Arran, to espouse her daughter, Mademoiselle de Bouillon, who, for her part, will be very glad if this be proper considered, for he is a very diligent suitor; and it would be very agreeable to the King, who has spoken of him to me with much regard, and has promised to marry him advantageously, and can scarcely do it better than in this manner." [1]

After mentioning that most of the daughters of the noble houses of France who might have been deemed suitable matches for her kinsman are either married or engaged, Mary Stuart, with the confiding simplicity of her age and character, tells her royal mother that this marriage is desired by the young lady out of love to her. "I believe," adds she, "that what makes it so desired by them is, that they wish her to be always near you or me, for she loves me so much that she is willing to marry whomsoever they please, provided she can remain always near me; and, for my part, I should be very glad of it myself, for she is a very prudent and very honourable girl; and also Monsieur le Cardinal, my uncle, likes her, and has told me that I cannot do better than write to you that he was of that opinion, seeing that you had been written to by Monsieur de Rohan. And to that demand they would not make any response, not knowing your pleasure. Wherefore I beseech you, Madame, to speak to his father, (meaning the Duke de Châtelherault.) I have written a little letter to him, for you to give him, if you think proper. And if you please, Madame, as much for the honour of our country as to forward this marriage, advance the earldom of Arran into a duchy, for they mock him here because it is not so. I beg you to do this as soon as you can." [2] Mary of Lorraine would have been only too happy

[1] Labanoff, Recueil de Lettres de Marie Stuart, vol. i. p. 40—supposed date, May 1557.

[2] Ibid, 42–3.

to comply with the request of her daughter by forwarding this marriage, but the Duke of Chatêlherault had matrimonial views of a very different nature for his son, and no inclination to oblige her in anything. He was, in fact, the rival power in the state, the leader of the opposition, which was composed of the ultra-Romanist prelates and nobles, guided by the counsels of his able but unprincipled brother, the Archbishop of St Andrews. As the Queen-Regent derived her chief support from the Reformers, that ecclesiastic determined to make an attempt to intimidate, if not to crush, that party, by renewing the terrors of persecution, which had slumbered ever since the reins of government passed into her hands. The time chosen by the Archbishop to put this cruel design into execution was the 28th of April 1558, four days after the solemnisation of the young Queen's nuptials with the Dauphin. The victim he selected was the venerable Walter Mill, a decrepid old man, sinking under the infirmities of upwards of fourscore years, whom he committed to the flames apparently in despite of the Queen-Regent, and to convince such of the Reformed preachers as had received ordination from the Church of Rome that it was out of her power to protect them from the terrors of the ecclesiastical law. Knox, nevertheless, accuses her of being an accomplice in the crime, although, so far from adducing any evidence of it, he says "she lamented the cruelty of the Archbishop, and protested her innocence of any share in it, for that the sentence was given without her knowledge, because the victim had formerly been a priest, therefore the bishop's officer did proceed upon him without any commission of the civil authority—*ex-officio*, as they term it."[1] Had it been possible to disprove that such had really been the nature of the process whereby the Primate was enabled to gratify his malignant spirit of persecution, independently of the Queen-

[1] History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 308, Laing's edition. The reader may remember that, when James V. desired to exercise the royal prerogative of mercy, by preserving David Stratoun from the stake, he was insolently reminded by the bishops "that his hands were bound in that case, and that he had no grace to give to such as by their law were condemned." —Ibid.

Regent's consent, Knox would assuredly have exposed the fallacy of her defence, instead of accusing her in general terms of falsehood and dissimulation, and leaving the stubborn fact on which her justification rested unanswered. It is certainly worthy of notice that this, the only martyrdom which occurred during the regency of Mary of Lorraine, took place in the diocese of a prelate with whom she was on notoriously bad terms. Moreover, she continued to derive her chief political support from the Reformers for many months after this tragedy had been perpetrated by the leader of the Roman Catholic party, which renders the absurdity of imputing any share of the blame to her manifest. The martyrdom of Adam Wallace by the same prelate was consummated by the authority of his brother, the late Governor Arran, who, in like manner, as he had rendered himself instrumental to all the cases of persecution which infame the memory of his uncle, Cardinal Beton, sanctioned that barbarous deed; but when the regency passed into the hands of Mary of Lorraine, the persecuting prelate found it necessary to assert the fatal power of ecclesiastical law in such cases, and proceeded *ex-officio* by his own authority, without the concurrence of the crown.

It was a fiend-like stroke of policy on the part of the Archbishop, for the purpose of creating a rupture between the Queen-Regent and the Reformers on the one hand, or compelling her to commit herself, by openly opposing the proceedings of the hierarchy of the Church by law established.

MARY OF LORRAINE

CHAPTER VII.

SUMMARY

Mary of Lorraine tries to hold the balance between Church and Congregation—Offends both—She is compelled by the bishops to summon Paul Methven—Indignation of his congregation—They pursue the bishops into her privy chamber—Stormy scene there—Queen-Regent pacifies the Protestants—She attends the Wake of St Giles—Accompanies the procession—Riot after she withdraws—Her popularity with the Reformers—They praise her in their letters to Calvin—Crown-matrimonial granted to her son-in-law, the Dauphin—Fatal effect of her French ties—Her toleration of Protestants censured—Change of policy prescribed to her by France—She predicts a rebellion—Her prophecy verified—Collision between Mary of Lorraine and the Congregation—Scenes of violence at Perth—Her anger at the outrages in the churches—Passionate appeal to the Duke of Châtelherault—She levies forces—Takes the field—Treats with insurgent lords—Enters Perth—Tragic occurrence there—She supersedes the Provost—Is deserted by Prior of St Andrews and Earl of Argyle—Accused of violating the treaty—Formidable attitude of the leaders of Congregation—She retreats to Dunbar—Her return to Edinburgh—Unfriendly conduct of Queen Elizabeth—Queen-Regent remonstrates—Dissimulation of Elizabeth—Shows Queen-Regent's portrait to ambassador—Praises her virtues—Assists her foes secretly—Queen-Regent fortifies Leith—Her palace there—Jealousy of the nobles—They remonstrate—Her haughty reply—Affectionate letter of her daughter—Fresh troubles for Queen-Regent—She retires to Leith—Her broken health—Lords require her to dismiss her French troops—She sends the Lord Lion with her reply—The Lords of Congregation renounce their allegiance—The war commences—Her peril at Leith—Successful sally of her garrison—Her triumphant return to Edinburgh—Her clemency—Blockaded by the English fleet—Dangerous relapse of illness—Her death reported—Deceptive rally—Her desire to resign the Regency, and retire to France—Disappointment of her hopes—Distressing position of her affairs—Pawns her jewels—English army crosses the Border—Queen-Regent

received for refuge in Edinburgh Castle—Accused of enchanting Sir James Crofts, and of other impossibilities—Her mortal illness—Agonising longings for peace—Conferences for that purpose with delegates from the Congregation—Her want of power to concede the terms—Her letters to d'Oysell intercepted—Her death-scene, and reconciliation with her foes—They persuade her to see a Protestant minister—She confers with Willock—Declares her reliance on the atoning blood of Christ—Her death—Her long-delayed funeral—Her body kept in St Margaret's Chapel—Removed for interment to Rheims—Her monument.

MARY of Lorraine had endeavoured to establish herself on the perilous ground where two mighty counter-currents, the adherents of the old Church and the champions of the Reformation, nearly matched in physical strength, were struggling for the mastery—deluding herself with the idea that her position would enable her to curb either at will, and, by holding the balance of power in her own hand, to rule over both. In order to do this, she must have been herself independent of all control; but not only was she pledged by a solemn engagement, as the Regent of the realm, to support the Established Church as she found it, but she was part and parcel of the system—forbidden to exercise the right of private judgment, and bound to yield implicit obedience to her spiritual superiors. Under these circumstances, it was impossible for her to refuse to comply with the requisition of the Archbishop of St Andrews, for her to issue a summons for Paul Methven, a popular preacher of low degree, who was attracting great congregations at Dundee, to appear before a convention of the clergy at Holyrood, to answer to the charge of heresy. He came on the day appointed, July 20th, but attended by such a multitude of Reformers of all degrees, that the Queen-Regent, dreading a tumult, and urged by the prelates, caused proclamation to be made that all persons who had come into Edinburgh without lawful business of their own should depart to the Border, there to remain for fifteen days. Andrew Dury, the facetious Bishop of Galloway, perpetrated one of his doggrel epigrams on this occasion, by addressing the following extempore couplet to the Queen-Regent:—

"MADAM,

"Because they are come without order,
I rede [advise] ye send them to the Border."[1]

No joking matter was it. The west-country gentlemen, strong in numbers, fervent in spirit, and clad in steel withal, instead of yielding obedience to the mandate, came in a body to the palace to protest against it, uttering threats both loud and deep against the prelates, to whose influence it was attributed. The affrighted hierarchy fled for refuge into the Queen-Regent's privy-chamber, followed by their antagonists, who, regardless of the inhibition of her Majesty's ushers and officers, rudely forced themselves into her presence,[2] headed by James Chalmers of Gathgirth, who addressed her in these words—"Madam, we know that this is the malice and device of these *jefwels*, [jail-birds,] and of that bastard [meaning the Archbishop of St Andrews] who stands by you. We avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our tenants for feeding of their idle bellies; they trouble our preachers, and would murder them and us. Shall we suffer this any longer? *Na*, Madam, it shall not be." Then every man put on his steel-cap, in token of defiance.[3] Alarming as this demonstration must have been to a defenceless woman, who saw her privacy rudely invaded, and herself surrounded by a throng of armed zealots, Mary of Lorraine betrayed neither anger nor personal terror on this occasion, but endeavoured, in her broken Scotch, to sooth and pacify the intruders with gentle and endearing words. "Nothing," says John Knox, "was heard on the Queen's part but 'My joys, my hearts, what ails you? *Me* means no evil to you, nor to your preachers. The Bishops shall do you no wrong. Ye are all my loving subjects. *Me* knew nothing of this proclamation. The day of your preachers shall be discharged, and *me* will hear the controversy that is betwix the Bishops and you: they shall do you no wrong.' Then turning to the Bishops she said, 'My Lords, I forbid you either to trouble them or their preach-

[1] Knox's History of the Reformation.

[2] Narrative of Maitland of Lethington. Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 257.

[3] Ibid. Tytler.

ers.' And unto the gentlemen, who were wondrously commoved, she turned again and said, 'Oh, my hearts, should ye not love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your mind, and should ye not *luif* your neighbours as *yourselfes?*' With these and the like fair words," pursues Knox, "she kept the Bishops from buffets at that time."[1] And much to her credit it was, that by preserving her own temper, and using gentle and persuasive language to allay the wrath of furious men, who had made themselves ready to do battle in her presence with the trembling prelates, she succeeded in preventing bloodshed. In consequence of the pacification her soft words and feminine demeanour had effected, the storm passed quietly over.[2]

The convocation of the clergy opened on the 1st of September, on which day the annual fair or wake of St Giles, the patron saint of Edinburgh, was always kept. This commemoration was usually made after a decidedly paganish fashion, by his votaries carousing to him in great goblets, inviting guests to uproarious festivity, with dancing, music, and pageant processions, in which his effigy was assigned the place of honour. The Queen-Regent, fearing, from the concourse of people who were flocking into the good town in consequence of the convocation, and the generally excited state of the public mind on both sides, that some tumult might take place during the wake, came to Edinburgh, and was easily persuaded to accompany the procession in person. She was the more willing to do this, because she flattered herself that her presence and authority would restrain the Protestant portion of the populace from raising a riot, as she had "a little before," says Maitland of Lethington, "shown herself very *connivent* to them in many things."[3] When, however, she was ready to set out with the procession, it was discovered that St Giles was absent without leave, the venerated image wont to be carried on that occasion having been stolen from the shrine, in St Giles's Church, by a merry party of Protestants, to

[1] History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 258. [2] Ibid.
[3] Narrative of Maitland of Lethington.

figure in a burlesque procession to the North Loch, into which it was flung with demonstrations of infinite contempt, and afterwards fished out and burned. The Queen-Regent, aware that St Giles's day was the saturnalia of the rabble, waited patiently till another of his effigies could be procured as a substitute for that which was otherwise engaged. St Giles the second, being inferior in altitude to its predecessor, is facetiously styled by the great Iconoclastes of the North "a marmouset idol." It was borrowed, he tells us, from the Grey Friars, or rather hired—for that fraternity prudently refused to lend it without receiving a piece of silver plate from James Carmichael, the dean of guild, in pledge for its safe return. There assembled priests, friars, canons, in short all the clergy in the town, with a numerous attendance of the Roman Catholics of all degrees: tabors, trumpets, bagpipes, and banners preceding the procession. "And who was there to lead the ring?" continues Knox, "but the Queen-Regent herself, with all her shavelings, in honour of that feast." This was quite in accordance with foreign customs, though a quarter of a century too late to be considered an edifying sight in Edinburgh. The procession went first to the west end of the town, and down the High Street to the Cross in the Canongate. The Queen-Regent, being very weary with her perambulations, left St Giles and his attendants as they returned up the town, and went to dine at the house of one Sandy Carpentine, between the Bows, fancying that all fear of a tumult was over.[1]

Respect for her presence restrained the populace, with whom she was still a great favourite, from molesting young St Giles, as they styled the image, as long as she formed part of the procession; although the hearts of the brethren had been wondrously inflamed at the sight of so manifest a relic of heathenism practised in their town, and they had formed a plan for his destruction. No sooner was her Majesty withdrawn to her dinner than they raised a general cry, "Down with the idol!—down with it!" and, dashing it upon the causeway, reduced it to the state of a torso in

[1] Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 261.

a trice; while some shrewd-witted person in the crowd cried, "Fie upon thee, thou young St Giles! thy father," meaning the original image, "would have stood four such."[1] Whatever the Queen-Regent thought of this exploit, she had the discretion to pass the matter over as an inebriate frolic. It would indeed have been the height of absurdity to risk involving the town in an insurrection, by inquiring too closely after the ringleaders of such a ridiculous affray. Besides, whatever affront was offered to St Giles and his votaries, she was perfectly aware that none was intended to her, and continued on the same amicable terms with the leading powers of the Congregation as she had done heretofore;[2] as a proof of which, they supported her in the required concession of the crown-matrimonial to the Dauphin — a matter still in abeyance, and intended to be brought forward in the Parliament that was convened to meet on the 29th of November. The demand of the King of France and the Queen of Scots, that the said privilege should be conferred on the Dauphin, in right of his marriage with her, had been prudently evaded by the Scotch Commissioners, as a matter not in their power to grant or refuse. Unluckily, it happened that the whole of these gentlemen were taken dangerously ill at Dieppe. Three out of the number, viz., the Bishop of Orkney, the Earl of Cassillis, and the Earl of Rothes, died. Lord Fleming, a fourth, went back to Paris for better advice, and lingered till December 15th, when he also expired. The malady was probably a malignant fever, for the Earls of Cassillis and Rothes survived till November 28th.[3] The Lord James, Prior of St Andrews, was taken ill with the rest, but recovered, and was the foremost to attribute the catastrophe of his colleagues to poison—a report that was very generally believed. When the infamous reputation of the Queen of France, Catharine de Medicis, as a poisoner is remembered, this suspicion will not appear remarkable; although it is certain that partaking of soup or ragout that

[1] Knox, Hist. Ref. [2] Narrative of Maitland of Lethington.
[3] See the notes to Knox's Works by the learned and intelligent D. Laing, Esq., who has made out the dates of these deaths.

had been left incautiously too many hours in a copper stew-pan would produce no less fatal effect than if arsenic had been mingled with the viands. But, from whatever cause, the deaths of these gentlemen produced a most unpleasant impression on the public mind, and subsequently furnished matter for political animadversion on the French connections of both Queens. A letter from the young Queen, Mary Stuart, to her mother, dated September 16th, to announce the death of the Bishop of Orkney, written at the very time of the illness of the others, affords satisfactory evidence that their indisposition proceeded not from any premeditated malice against them; for they had actually sailed, and were driven back by stress of weather into the port of Dieppe—a circumstance which neither the Queen of France, Cardinal Lorraine, nor any other ill-disposed persons, could have foreseen.

"It was the will of God," writes Mary Stuart,[1] "that the ambassadors who were returning to you, when midway, were driven back to Dieppe, where they are all very ill; and my lord of Orkney is dead, which has made them send to me Erskine, the present bearer, to show me that you had accorded to them the enjoyment of certain privileges,"—in the shape, it should appear, of church preferments; for they were all most anxious to inquire of their young Sovereign whose those things should be after their deaths; and especially if they might be allowed to make their abbeys over to their relations or friends, as the Queen-Regent had given them to understand they might. "To this I made answer," continues Mary, "that I would write to the King, my husband, about it. I am sure he will leave everything to you, as I do myself." Mary, however, mentions two or three solicitors for a share in the good things that might possibly be vacated by the decease of the sick nobles at Dieppe. "Monsieur de Pinguillon implores me to remind you of him. If it be possible to secure a pension for him without doing a wrong to any one else, I should be glad. *Comp*," meaning her nurse's hus-

[1] Mary Stuart to the Queen, her mother—in the Labanoff Collection, vol. i. p. 58-9.

band, Kemp, "prays me to recommend him to you, not for that in particular; but if you happen to have anything suitable, I intreat you not to forget him. I write to you also for Erskine, and should be glad if he had somewhat too."[1] What a picture of the unfeeling voracity of courtiers is here unfolded in the private letter of the innocent young Queen, in her sixteenth year, communicating to her royal mother the importunity with which she was beset in consequence of the death of one of the commissioners, and the possibility of others following who were dangerously ill of the same malady. The date of the return of the survivors is indicated by the following entry in the Royal Compotus:—

"October 11th.—To Monsieur de la Force, captain of Dieppe and admiral of the ships, in home-bringing the Lords fra our Sovereign lady's marriage, ane chain of gold, weighing two pounds one ounce weight, containing 300 crowns of the sun, £382, 10s.

"To John Mossman, goldsmith, for making the same, for ilk ounce 10s. —£16, 10s."

"When the word of the departing of so many patrons of Papistry," says Knox, "and the manner of their departing, came unto the Queen-Regent, after astonishment and musing she said—'What shall I say of such men! They lived as beasts, and as beasts they die. God is not with them, neither with their enterprise.'" It must be noticed, however, that the Earl of Cassillis, her lord-treasurer, and the Earl of Rothes, were both attached to the doctrines of the Reformation; but Knox, who is not very distinct in his relation, probably intended to include David Panter, Bishop of Ross, and the facetious Andrew Dury, Bishop of Galloway, whose deaths he records at the same time, in her Majesty's obituary remarks on those gentlemen. Andrew Dury often made one at the royal card-table,[2] in evidence whereof there are items in the Compotus for 1558: "April 27th, to the Queen's Grace, to play with the Bishop of

[1] Mary Stuart to the Queen her mother—in the Labanoff Collection, vol. i. p. 58-9.

[2] Knox sarcastically observes of this prelate, "He left his rhyming wherewith he was accustomed, and departed this life even as that he lived; for the articles of his belief were, 'I refer—*decarte* yow? Ha! ha! the four kings, and all made? Fie upon it, it is but a varlet!'"—the knaves at cards were anciently so designated. The game alluded to here was probably Quadrille.

Galloway in testoons, £20. June 20, to the Queen's Grace, to play at the *cartis* in double ducats, £13."[1]

The Queen-Regent took advantage of the decease of the Lord James, Prior of Kelso and Melrose, to nominate her brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, to the two last-named benefices. This appointment was very properly resisted, and did him no good, but herself much harm, by affording a flagrant example of the abuse of Crown patronage. The minds of men were agitated with gloomy forebodings of approaching evil by the appearance of the magnificent bearded comet, called the Fiery Besom, which first became visible in the northern horizon in the month of November 1558, and was supposed to be the harbinger of national calamities. Many signs and wonders were reported as appearing at this period, which certainly only existed in the heated imaginations of those who have recorded them; such, for instance, as a flaming dragon, sailing between heaven and earth, destroying all the late harvests, and slaying the cattle. Births of monsters and misshapen animals occurring at this period, were also construed by vulgar superstition into portents of ill. One of these prodigies, a calf with two heads, was exhibited to the Queen-Regent by Robert Ormiston; "whereat," says Knox, "she *scripped*," treated it with contemptuous indifference, and said "it was but a common thing." It would have been well for this Princess if she had never done anything more deserving of censure. But a crisis of no ordinary difficulty was approaching—a crisis in which it was impossible for her to have acted wisely or well, unless she had been able, from conscientious motives, to espouse the doctrines of the Reformation, and go hand-in-hand with those who had entered into a solemn league and covenant for the overthrow of the Church of Rome. Had Mary of Lorraine done this, she might have sailed triumphantly with the strong tide of public opinion, provided perennial funds for the crown from the Abbey lands, and received laudations, instead of reprobation, from the generality of writers. But, thinking as she did, it was impossible for

[1] Treasury Records in the Register House, Edinburgh.

her to consent to the destruction of that which the prejudices of education had taught her to regard as the only true church, however tolerant she was willing to show herself to the opinions of others. Twice she gave a courteous reception to Willock, the celebrated Reformer, who had entered the service of Anna, Duchess of Friesland, when he was sent to her by that lady on a mission connected with the commercial relations between their dominions. The learning, modesty, and urbane manners of Willock, appear to have been highly appreciated by Mary of Lorraine, insomuch that, overlooking the circumstance of his having abandoned a monastic profession to become a preacher of the Reformed faith, she permitted him to promulgate his opinions in private society unmolested. It was the second visit of Willock to Scotland that advanced the progress of the Reformation, by giving order and method to the ardent zeal of the rapidly-increasing converts to Protestantism.[1] The leaders of the Congregation, finding that all degrees of the clergy in convocation assembled were opposed to their demands of freedom of worship, determined to make a formal application to the Queen-Regent for relief. Their petition was presented to her by their delegate, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, a wise and worthy gentleman, of venerable years, and universally esteemed. "She spared not amiable looks and good words in abundance," says Knox, "but always she keeped our *bill* [their supplication] close in her pocket. When we required secretly of her Grace that our petitions should be proposed to the whole assembly, she answered 'that she thought that not expedient, for then would the whole ecclesiastical estate be contrary to her proceedings, which, at that time, were very great; but,' said she, 'how soon order can be taken with those things which now might be hindered by the kirkmen, ye shall know my good mind; and, in the mean time, whatsoever I *may* grant unto you shall gladly be granted.'"[2] In fact, though she had no power to alter the practice or discipline of the inflexible church to which she belonged, and which she, as Regent,

[1] Knox. Tytler.

[2] Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 312.

was sworn to maintain, she permitted the Reformers, without let or hindrance from her, to use prayer, celebrate the sacraments, and perform other religious exercises in their mother tongue, requiring only that their preachers were not to make any public sermons to the people at Edinburgh or Leith.[1] The conciliatory policy of Mary of Lorraine was very displeasing to the ultra-Romanists, who reproached her with pusillanimity.

Such was the favourable opinion with which she, however, was regarded at that period by the Reformers of Scotland, "that, in their public letters to Calvin, they praised and commended her for her excellent knowledge of God's word, and her good-will towards the advancement of his glory."[2] Meantime the three Estates of Scotland in Parliament conceded the crown-matrimonial to her son-in-law, the Dauphin. The Lord James, Prior of St Andrews, and the Earl of Argyll, were deputed to announce this concession to Francis and Mary, and, as Buchanan states, to carry the crown to him. It was not, however, for the possession of a jewelled toy, nor yet for the enjoyment of such privileges as were usually granted to the Sovereign's consort, that so many bribes and intrigues had been employed by the King of France in behalf of his son; but that he might reign over the realm of Scotland as King *de facto*, in right of his marriage with the Sovereign *de jure*, in the same manner as the Earls-matrimonial represented in the Scotch Parliament the peerage rights of their ladies. It is difficult to believe that such a clear-sighted and ambitious mother as Mary of Lorraine could really have been so desirous as has been asserted of an arrangement, the effect of which was virtually to reduce her daughter from the power and importance of a Queen-regnant, to the nominal title of a joint Sovereign; in other words, to the puppet dignity of a royal consort. That Mary of Lorraine submitted to the pleasure of the King of France in this matter is an indubitable fact—the brilliant alliance she had

[1] Buchanan's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 245. Edinburgh Edition, 1752.

[2] Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 314.

so eagerly coveted for her child having placed a yoke upon her own neck, the effects of which may be traced in more ways than one; but that she practised the deceptions imputed to accomplish an object opposed to the natural impulses of maternal pride, requires more substantial evidence than assertion.[1]

The differences between Mary of Lorraine and the Protestant portion of her daughter's subjects did not occur till the spring of 1559, just thirteen months before her death, in consequence of her being compelled by French dictation to abandon her conciliatory policy, and join the league that had been made, soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne of England, between the Kings of France and Spain, the Emperor, and the Pope, to put down the Reformed faith, and enforce obedience to the Papal Church. Sir James Melville, who was at that time in the service of the Constable Montmorenci, and of course behind the scenes, affirms "that when Monsieur Bettoncourt, the Master of the Queen-Regent's household, was deputed by Cardinal Lorraine to acquaint her with this confederacy, he was instructed to tell her that 'they willed her to do the like in Scotland, and to begin in time, before the heresies should spread any farther, which by her gentle bearing had already taken over great place, as was reported to the King of France; praying her diligently to put order thereto without any fear or respect of persons.'"[2] Another contemporary historian of the highest credit[3] declares, "that the Queen-Regent had, by her patience and prudence under very difficult circumstances, composed all the troubles in Scotland, and governed peacefully, in consequence of her having made it a principle never to force the consciences of the Protestants; but her brethren of the house of Guise were determined that she should adopt rigorous measures for uniformity of worship; and when she remonstrated, they reproached her 'for having, by her mildness and forbearance, spoiled everything.'

[1] Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 315.
[2] Sir James Melville's Memoirs, Bannatyne Edition, p. 76, 77.
[3] Memoirs de Michel de Castlenau, in Jebb's Collection, vol. ii. p. 446.

Though herself a Catholic, she persisted in defending the rule of action she had hitherto adopted as the wisest and best, assuring those who counselled her to the contrary, 'that it would never do to make any compulsory acts on the subject of religion,' predicting 'that if it were attempted, it would create an immediate rebellion in the realm.' But she was not believed; and the revolt she foretold took place." More unfortunate than Cassandra, Mary of Lorraine was, by the force of circumstances, compelled to become the instrument for fulfilling the evil she had prophesied in vain, and has been doomed to bear the blame of the very measures she protested against. She ought to have abdicated her onerous and unthankful office the moment a part was prescribed contrary to her own judgment, for which she was to be responsible; but her maternal feelings induced her to retain the reins of empire for the sake of her child, when they were impelling her to the verge of a precipice.

While Mary of Lorraine was thus urged, by the arbiters of her own and her daughter's destinies at the Court of France, to conform to the policy of the allied Catholic Sovereigns of Europe, some of the less temperate of the Reformers began "to infringe the laws as they then stood, by attacking churchmen both in their goods and persons, and committing depredations in the churches, by defacing and stealing images and ornaments; which outrages did not only offend and grieve the Queen-Regent, but made her use menacing words, and cite their preachers to appear before a convention at Stirling, to answer for these disorders."[1] Moreover, she issued a proclamation enjoining uniformity of worship, commanding that Easter should be kept according to the canons of the Latin Church.[2] The Congregation sent the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell, the Sheriff of Ayr, to expostulate with her Majesty on these proceedings. Their choice of the delegates was unfortunate, both these gentlemen having figured in the pension-lists of Henry VIII.[3] At the time that persecuting tyrant was sending English Reformers

[1] Narrative of Maitland of Lethington.
[2] Knox.
[3] See Sadler's State Papers, vol. i.

to the flames in Smithfield, and almost under his Protestant Queen's chamber windows at Windsor, they had pocketed his bribes, made no objection to his creed, and allowed him to burn Scotch towns and villages without remonstrance. The Queen-Regent, having so little reason to respect their principles, could not listen to their professions with common patience. A sharp altercation ensued: she lost her temper, and told them "she would silence their preachers, were they even as eloquent as St Paul."[1] They reminded her of her fair promises to the Congregation on the matters in dispute; to which she petulantly replied, "Princes ought not to be urged with their promises farther than suits their convenience to observe them."[2] "Then, Madam," replied the two delegates, "if you are resolved to keep no faith with your subjects, you must not be surprised if we renounce the obedience which otherwise we should consider as your due." The Queen-Regent imputed what she had said to passion, and promised to think better of their requests. But the season for deliberation on both sides

[1] Narrative of Maitland of Lethington. Tytler.

[2] Knox. This speech is only a new edition of the well-known repartee of William Rufus, who, when upbraided by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, for not having performed his promises to the clergy, exclaimed, "Dost think it possible for a king to keep all his promises!"—an audacious avowal of the morals of Princes, more in keeping with the character and circumstances of the powerful military despot by whom it was uttered, than with the delicate system of finesse on which Mary of Lorraine was accustomed to act in her doubtful and difficult position. The insincerity and double dealing of which she is accused were practised occasionally by those who allowed the things in themselves which they justly condemn in her. Thus John Knox, when writing, under his assumed name of John Sinclair, to Sir James Croft, urging the necessity of soldiers being sent to the aid of the Congregation from England, because it suited not Elizabeth's policy to break the double peace with France and Scotland, uses these words:—"If ye list to *craft* with them, the sending of a thousand men or more can break no league nor point of peace contracted between you and France, for it is free for your subjects to serve in war any prince or nation for their wages. And if ye fear such excuses will not prevail, ye may declare them rebels to your realm, when ye shall be assured they be in our company!"—Keith's Appendix. p. 40. The original is in the State Paper Office in Knox's autograph. Sir James Croft stated, "that the device recommended could not be practiced without a manifest breach of honour." On which observation Knox makes the following comment in his reply:—"But whether it may stand with wisdom to have *respect to that which some men call honour*, that in the mean time I shall see my friend perish, both to his destruction and mine, I refer to the judgment of the most honourable."—Ibid., p. 42. Dated October 29, 1559.

was past. Perth threw off the Papal yoke, with a courageous determination to act independently of State control. Great disorders having been committed, in consequence of the excited state of public feeling, on both sides, and grievous complaints addressed to the Queen-Regent as chief ruler, by the Romish clergy and their congregations, she commanded Lord Ruthven, the provost of that town, to enforce obedience to the laws, and prevent the people from pursuing such courses; but he replied "that his authority was on their bodies and goods, which he would make obedient to her will; but on their souls he pretended not to have any control." Her Majesty reproved Ruthven for what she termed "his malapert reply," and proceeded to issue her citation for Paul Methven and his coadjutors to appear at Stirling.[1] They advanced as far as Perth only, attended by a mixed multitude of friends and partisans. John Erskine of Dun, fearing that her Majesty might be alarmed by the appearance of so great a concourse, very considerately went alone to Stirling, to seek a private interview with her, and represented the evil consequences that must ensue if she persisted in her present rash course. She instantly succumbed in the face of danger; and promised that, if the people would disperse, the summons to their preachers should be discharged, and all things arranged according to their desire. Erskine then wrote to the leaders of the assembly at Perth, requesting them to send home the multitude to their own houses, showing them what hopes he had of an amicable arrangement with the Queen-Regent. Some of the people—such, probably, as had wives and families dependent on their daily labour—returned home; but the gentlemen and preachers remained at Perth. Indeed, Knox tells us "that the whole multitude staid."[2] The condition on which the Queen-Regent made her promise—namely, their dispersing—not being performed, she evidently did not consider herself bound to keep her pact. She was now reconciled to the Archbishop of St Andrews, and, for the first time in her life, acting under

[1] Narrative of Maitland of Lethington. [2] Knox, vol. i. p. 318.

his evil influence, as well as by the advice and dictation of France. The 10th of May came: the names of Paul Methven and his brother preachers, Willock, Douglas, and Harlaw, were called; and, not appearing to their citation, they were denounced as rebels, and put to the horn.

The Laird of Dun immediately returned to Perth, and expressed to the leaders of the Congregation his disgust at the Queen-Regent's proceedings, and declared his regret at having written to request them to disperse; adding "that he believed her to be implacable against them, and therefore they ought to provide for the worst"[1] — intimating, thereby, that the best thing they could do would be, as they were assembled in great strength, to take up arms. Through these representations, the multitude became so inflamed that nothing could restrain their fury. The first storm fell upon St Johnstown, or, Perth, the place where they had convened. John Knox, who had only landed in Scotland on the 2d of May, preached so vehement a sermon on the 11th against idolatry, bidding them "pull down the nests, that the crows might not build again," that in the course of the same afternoon they broke down all the carved work and ornaments, and left nothing but bare walls, in the fair Cathedral—the spoils becoming the reward of the rabble who had been the operatives in that work. They made such despatch that the Grey Friars, the Black Friars, and the Carthusian Church, beautiful and ancient fabrics—monuments of antiquity, which had been centuries in building—were in two days desolated and destroyed.[2] When these outrages were reported to the Queen-Regent, she was transported with rage and grief. She most especially bewailed the destruction of the fair and stately church of the Carthusians, and desecration of the tombs of James I., his Queen, Jane Beaufort, and the late Queen Margaret Tudor, her mother-in-law; and vowed she would inflict signal vengeance on the town of Perth and its inhabitants, —threats which were doubtless repeated with exaggerations

[1] Knox's History of the Reformation. Lord Herries's History of the Reign of Mary. Keith.

[2] Ibid.

by the Prior of St Andrews and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Argyll, who, though they had signed the bond of alliance with the Congregation, still kept fair with the Queen-Regent, and remained outwardly attached to her service, in order to act more surely in favour of their confederates.[1] Nothing, indeed, could be more disgusting than the treachery and dissimulation practised on all sides. In great excitement of spirit, Mary of Lorraine summoned the Duke of Châtelherault, and claimed his support as the next heir of the Crown. "I am but a woman," said she, "unacquainted with the nature of men in Scotland, and I believe they stand in no awe of me because I am but a woman; but I think it is your duty and your brother's to defend the Church, as far as ye may, seeing I had nothing to do therewith."[2] This passionate appeal was unanswerable. The Duke, knowing how different had been this Princess's rule of action when left to her own better feelings, could not for shame leave her single-handed in the gap, where she had been forced by the ultra-Romanists, who had compelled her to act according to the statutes framed during his regency. Supported by him, the Earls of Atholl and Huntley, she had in the course of a few days an army at her command, with which she declared her intention of taking the field in person. Meantime the Congregation wrote letters to her, the nobles of Scotland, and M. d'Oysell, requesting liberty of worship according to the true Evangile. That to the Queen-Regent was very respectfully and persuasively written: it was laid on her cushion in the chapel-royal at Stirling, where she found it when she went to attend the service. "She looked upon it, and put it into the pocket of her gown"[3] without comment. The letter of the Congregation to d'Oysell requested him to act as a mediator with the Queen-Regent for mitigating her displeasure; but in that to the nobles strong language was used against "the abominations of the pestilent Papists," and those were denounced as traitors and accursed who united not in

[1] Lord Herries's History of the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 38, 39.
[2] Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles of Scotland, p. 531, 532.
[3] Knox's History of the Reformation.

fighting the good fight against them. A fourth letter was also addressed "To the Generation of Anti-Christ, the pestilent prelates, and their shavelings within Scotland."[1] These expressions completely counteracting any pacific effect the professions in the letter to herself might have produced on the Queen's mind, she advanced at the head of her army towards Perth, and sent the Prior of St Andrews and the Earl of Argyll to inquire the reason of the insurrectionary muster, which now amounted to upwards of seven thousand men. Mary of Lorraine was persuaded, notwithstanding the preponderance of her force, to enter into an amicable treaty with the Congregation, granting amnesty to all persons implicated in the late work of destruction, on condition of both armies dispersing, and herself, with her retinue, being admitted into Perth, there to remain during her own pleasure; but no Frenchman to advance within three miles of the town, nor any French garrison to be left there by her: all other matters in dispute to be referred to the decision of parliament. The Congregational historians[2] affirm that some of the French soldiers, who entered Perth in the retinue of the Queen-Regent, discharged their harquebusses against the house of one Patrick Murray, a godly burgess of Perth, who was with his family leaning over his balcony to see the Queen's public entrance; and one of the shots thus fired, as stated, with malicious intent, slew his son, a fine lad of thirteen years old.[3] The fatal shot was, in all probability, fired by some Roman Catholic Scotchman, infuriated by the work of destruction recently perpetrated by the champions of the Congregation in Perth. This wanton infringement of the truce, by whomsoever committed, was productive of bad effects to the Queen-Regent and her affairs. The corpse of the boy was brought and laid reproachfully before the house where her Majesty was reposing herself. She asked whose son it was, and, when informed, is said to have replied—"The chance was to be lamented, and the more so that it fell on the son instead of the father; but that it was no fault of hers, neither was she accountable for such accidents:"[4]

[1] Knox, Hist. Ref. [2] Buchanan. Knox. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

a speech which, if true, affords a melancholy illustration of the deteriorating effects of party excitement and strife on the heart of a naturally gentle and humane female. Alas for any woman who suffers herself to be involved in such scenes!

The first use she made of her authority in Perth was to depose the Provost[1] and other magistrates for not having performed their duty in attempting to restrain "the rascal multitude," as Knox terms the destructives who had devastated and plundered the churches. She was deserted the following day by the Prior of St Andrews, and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Argyll, who joined the Congregation at St Andrews, and accused her of having violated the articles of the treaty. Mary of Lorraine perceived, when too late, the false step of which she had been guilty, in disbanding her army, in compliance with their insidious advice. Having parted with the power of putting down popular violence by military force, she was unable to prevent the work of destruction that was carried on with unresisted fury at St Andrews, Crail, and other places. It is needless to enter here into details which are legibly written in the desolation of many a fair and venerable fane which had been planted on the ruins of heathen temples, and hallowed by the prayers of the earliest Christian converts of the Culdee missionaries. Scotland, in the sixteenth century, was in a state of transit—not progressing calmly and philosophically with the march of reason, guided by the light of truth, to a religious regeneration on Christian principles; but, bursting, like an enraged lioness from the enslaving meshes of a net, which a corrupt priesthood had drawn too tightly to be

[1] Patrick, Lord Ruthven, the same who subsequently rose from his sick-bed to assist, in his night-cap, at the murder of David Rizzio. Ruthven had acquired a terrible notoriety, in the year 1554, by the assassination of his adversary, John Charteris of Kinclaven, to prevent that gentleman from obtaining the benefit of the decision of the Lords of Session in a suit of law then pending between them.—Lesley's History of Scotland. In consequence of this ferocious deed, it was enacted in the first parliament called by the Queen-Regent, that whosoever should slay any person with whom he was at law should lose his suit, and receive condign punishment in body and goods. But Ruthven escaped Scot-free, the law being then a terror to small criminals, but broken by the oligarchs of Scotland with impunity.

endured, she broke down every barrier that impeded her liberation: unscrupulous, indeed, as to the means employed to attain her object, yet determined, on conscientious grounds, to obtain it, or perish in the attempt. Mary of Lorraine looked on aghast, and, beholding everything that she had been taught to venerate and hold sacred trampled and laid waste, felt herself animated to resistance, even with the inadequate forces that remained at her command after the dispersion of her army—namely, two thousand Frenchmen, under the command of d'Oysell, and a thousand Scots who followed the banner of the Duke of Châtelherault. She took the field with these, and marched to Cupar, where she had appointed the countrymen who adhered to her to rendezvous; but, her design having been betrayed to the Congregation, she found that post preoccupied, and was fain to retire to Falkland. She had previously sent her complaints and prayers for succour to the King of France, who had been also appealed to by the other party. Aware that neither was to be implicitly believed, that Prince determined to send Sir James Melville, who was then in his service, and on friendly terms with both parties, to Scotland, to investigate the facts for his guidance. A very interesting account is recorded by Melville of the instructions that were given him, in the presence of the King of France, by the Constable Montmorenci, the great political opponent of the aspiring family of Guise.[1]

"Your native Queen," said he, "is married here in France to the King-Dauphin, and the King is informed by the Cardinal of Lorraine that a bastard son of King James V., called Prior de St André, pretends, under the colour of religion, to usurp the kingdom unto himself. His Majesty knows I was ever against the said marriage, fearing thereby to make our old friends our new foes, as is like to come to pass this day; but I gave over great place to the house of Guise to deal in the affairs of Scotland, because the Queen-Regent is their sister. Now, seeing their violent proceedings is like to cause the kingdom of Scotland to be lost from the

[1] Sir James Melville's Memoirs, Bannatyne Edition, p. 78.

lawful Queen, I must needs meddle, and put to my helping hand. I hear," continued he, "that Monsieur d'Oysell is choleric and over angry, and impatient folks are not meet to rule over far and strange countries. I have also intelligence that the Queen-Regent has not kept all things promised to them." Then, after stating the difficulties, expenses, and evils that must attend, as it ever had done, the introduction of French troops into that realm, Montmorenci assured Melville that his Majesty was willing to do everything necessary for the support of the crown of Scotland, but would first send him to obtain full and certain information of the cause of the disturbances. "Seem only to be there to visit your friends," pursued the careful French premier, "but let neither the Queen-Regent nor d'Oysell know of your commission wherein you are employed by the King, who is now your best master. First try whether the said Prior pretends to usurp the crown of Scotland to himself, or if he be moved to take arms only of conscience for defence of his religion, himself, and his defenders and associates; next try what promises are broken unto him or them, by whom, and at whose instances." When the Constable had ended his instructions, the King of France put his hand on Melville's shoulder, with these brief words, "Do as my gossip has directed, and I shall reward you."[1] "So," continues Melville, "I kissed his Majesty's hand, and took my leave, posting through England, and found the Queen-Regent within the old tower of Falkland, because that same day her army, under my Lord Duke Hamilton and Monsieur d'Oysell, was ranged in battle upon Cupar Moor against the Lords of the Congregation. At what time her Majesty made hard moan unto me of her disobedient subjects; but even as I was speaking with her, the Duke and Monsieur d'Oysell came back from the said moor without battle, whereat the Queen was very far offended, and thought they had lost a very fair occasion." In not fighting with the overwhelming numbers arrayed on the side of the Congregation, they had done prudently; but, instead of retiring, they had taken upon themselves to enter

[1] Melville's Memoirs.

into a treaty, obliging the Queen-Regent to evacuate the county of Fife, and that not a single Frenchman or Scot, taking pay from the King of France, should remain after eight days. The Queen-Regent, not approving of this arrangement, neither fulfilled the stipulations, nor sent commissioners to St Andrews for the ratification of the peace, as was expected by the Congregation. It was during the truce, probably, that Sir James Melville endeavoured to fulfil the commission he had received from the King of France, by entering into conversation with the Prior of St Andrews on the cause of the disturbances in Scotland. The Prior saw him in the presence of that sworn tool of England, Henry Balnaves; and though both were in arms against the Queen-Regent, it is worthy of observation that they brought no charge against her in self-justification, nor did either accuse her of craft, treachery, or cruelty. On the contrary, the Prior told Melville "what liberty of conscience and oversight her Majesty had granted unto them, until the time that her maister of the household, Monsieur de Bettoncourt, returned from France with the news of the peace, [the peace of Cambray, which was only signed in the preceding April;] and whereas she had since changed her behaviour and countenance towards him, and them that had done her best service, he knew well enough that it proceeded not of her own good nature, but by the persuasions and threatenings of her brothers and friends in France."[1]

This testimony of the previous indulgence of Mary of Lorraine, in regard to liberty of conscience, and of her characteristic good-nature, from the lips of the Prior of St Andrews himself, afterwards the celebrated Regent Moray, ought, we think, to outweigh much of the vituperation of Knox; for although Knox was undoubtedly the honester man of the two, yet it was impossible for him to have had such accurate means of information on the subject as the son of James V. enjoyed, who had been domesticated in her palace, and treated with the greatest kindness and confidence by this Princess. The Prior said, in conclusion, "that to put the King of France and her Majesty out of

[1] Memoirs of Sir James Melville, p. 82—Bannatyne Edition.

all suspicion, he was willing to banish himself perpetually from Scotland, provided he might have the payment of his rents insured to him in France or elsewhere, and that himself and his associates might enjoy the same liberty in religion as the Queen-Regent had granted them previous to the return of Bettoncourt." The Prior knew well that, even if it had been in the power of that Princess to return to her former wise and conciliatory policy, the Lords of the Congregation were no longer willing to accept toleration. They had the hearts of the majority of the people, and their hands also, and were determined to uproot the Church of Rome. Any concession, therefore, which the Queen-Regent could have made, short of that object, must have been unavailing. Finding herself unable to defend Perth, she withdrew secretly from that town, under the escort of the Duke of Châtelherault, d'Oysell, and some of the lords of her Council, and sent the Earl of Huntley and Lord Erskine to offer terms for a cessation of hostilities. But her delegates could scarcely obtain the compliment of a hearing. The fall of Perth was followed by the sack and conflagration of the Palace and Abbey of Scone. The Queen-Regent made a vain attempt to retire on Stirling for the defence of that town; but the Prior of St Andrews, and his brother-in-law, Argyll, were too quick for her. They entered and destroyed all the monastic houses, not even sparing the retreat of the nuns. They were, moreover, guilty of a gratuitous piece of barbarism, which excited the astonishment of the French beyond any other of their doings—namely, devastating all the gardens and cutting down the fruit-trees.[1] Mary of Lorraine retreated to Edinburgh, and hearing that the insurgents were advancing to Linlithgow, where further devastations were committed, she fled to Dunbar. Edinburgh opened her gates at the approach of the army of the Congregation, which entered the metropolis in triumph on the 29th of June, sacked Holyrood, seized the mint and coining irons, and a quantity of bullion. These successes had not been achieved without the support of

[1] Pièces et Documens Inedits, relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse — from the French Archives.

England; but it must be acknowledged that Queen Elizabeth had received great provocation from the house of Guise, to whose counsels she attributed the affront which had been put upon her after the death of her sister, the late Queen Mary, in the assumption of the arms and title of England and Ireland by the Dauphin Francis and his youthful consort Mary Stuart, under the pretext that Mary Stuart was the rightful inheritrix of those realms—implying, thereby, the illegitimacy of Elizabeth's birth, not the more tolerable to that Princess because her own father, Henry VIII., had previously asserted it. The fact that the usurped arms of England, quartered with those of France and Scotland, had been engraved on the great seal of Francis and Mary, and sent to the Queen-Regent, Mary of Lorraine, in the same ship which brought John Knox back to Scotland, is thus mysteriously communicated by him in a letter to Railton:—

"It is most assured that such a jewel, the great seal, with the usurped arms of England quartered, is lately come to our realm; but it is kept marvellous secret, because these cold blasts of winter be able to cause the beauty of such May-flowers fade. Thus much, my eyes saw and my hands touched a trim staff for the Queen-Regent, sent from the persons whom before ye did specify, in which were all things which ye express, gorgeously engraved on silver and double gilt. This staff was sent in the month of May in the same ship in which I came to Scotland, and was shown to me in great secresy." [1]

Mary of Lorraine had not completed her forty-fourth year at the time when bodily weakness, the result of severe mental toil and disquiet, had reduced her to the necessity of supporting her feeble steps by leaning on a staff. Dearly, indeed, had she purchased the fatal dignity which had thus brought down her strength in her journey, and was rapidly shortening her days. While a fugitive at Dunbar, she received the painful tidings of the death of her powerful friend and ally Henry II. of France, who was slain in the lists by a splinter from the lance of the Count de Lorge Montgomery. This untoward event, instead of paralysing her spirit, roused her energies, and impelled her to action.[2] She

[1] Sadler's State Papers.
[2] Pièces et Documens Inedits, relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse.

was now the mother of a King and Queen of France, and hoped all things from the closeness of so powerful a connection. The Duke of Châtelherault and the Earl of Morton, who had deserted her and joined the Congregation, thought proper to retrace their steps; and when she marched with the forces that had assembled round her towards Edinburgh, they dutifully met her by the way, and offered to negotiate a pacification with the insurgents. Through their good offices a truce was proclaimed, and she entered Edinburgh peacefully on the 25th of July.[1] Mary of Lorraine had further testimony of the improvement in her affairs, in the shape of an earnest letter from Queen Elizabeth, complaining of having been suspected by her and the King of France of having stirred up the late troubles in Scotland, and assuring her of her determination to punish any of her own subjects who might have been found engaged in such unfriendly proceedings. Mary of Lorraine replied with all due courtesy, but directed her royal son-in-law's ambassador, Noailles, to represent that the insurgent lords had boasted publicly of the promised aid of her Majesty of England. To these remonstrances Elizabeth adroitly replied, by shifting the blame of anything of an improper nature that might have occurred on her ministers, "'some of whom might possibly have been fools enough,' she said, 'to hold misjudging conferences with the Scotch; but she had sent a person to inquire into that matter, and would redress anything that had been done amiss. Meantime she could assure the Queen-Regent that the Congregationalists had nothing to hope from her favour in any of their mad enterprises; that she had neither written nor promised them aught; and that her signet was very well known, and easy to recognise, if they had it to show;' — adding, 'that she knew well that they had some very troublesome people among them, capable of sowing the seeds of wicked projects among her own people;[2] and that, if she found anything of the kind

[1] Lord Herries. Buchanan. Lingard.

[2] Notwithstanding the zeal and activity of Knox against the Queen-Regent, the antipathy of the English Sovereign, whose game he was playing, was invincible, insomuch that Cecil found it necessary to prevent his being

going on in London, she would put a stop to it.' After this conversation," proceeds Noailles, in his letter to Mary of Lorraine, detailing the particulars of the interview with Elizabeth, "the said lady showed me your portrait, which she has in her gallery at Hampton Court, not forgetting to enlarge on your goodness, integrity, and virtue, and charging me to present her most affectionate commendations to you. If any judgment could be formed from external demonstrations and fair words, it would seem that she has every inclination to remain in peace and friendship with your Majesty."[1] It was, of course, the reoccupation of Edinburgh and Leith by the Queen-Regent which elicited the above commendations of her virtues from Elizabeth.

Soon after her return to Edinburgh, Mary of Lorraine wrote the following touching letter on the death of her royal kinsman, Henry II. of France, to the French ambassador, resident in London:—

"Monsieur de Noailles,—I have received your letter of the 17th of the other month, [July,] with the melancholy tidings of the death of the best Prince in the whole world. I have good cause to share in the grief and sadness this event causes, if you consider all things; but in such dispensations I know full well there is no consolation but in God, who is the master of us all, and it behoves us to bear with patience the afflictions with which he visits us. You know, Monsieur de Noailles, that I have had my share on every side, and in every shape, and how I am at present tormented by these furious men, of whose deportment you will have been informed by M. d'Oysell's letters, as well as all that has passed here since our last, which keeps me from writing a longer letter to you, than to assure you that I should be happy to do anything in this place that might give you pleasure. You shall find that I have no little desire to acknowledge the good-will shown by your brothers to me in time past, hoping that you

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employed in any mission from the Congregation to her, by writing in plain terms to Sadler and Crofts. "Of all others, Knox's name, if it be not Goodman's, is most odious here, and therefore I wish no mention of him hither. If Balnaves should come, it would prove dangerous, and therefore it is thought better that he be forborne until the matter be better on foot." Again Cecil expresses his own opinion on the subject of the great northern Reformer: "Surely I like not Knox's audacity, which was also well tamed in your answer. His writings do no good here, and therefore I do rather suppress them; and yet I mean not but that they should continue in sending them."—Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 532; ibid. p. 535, Mr Secretary Cecil to Sir R. Sadler and Sir James Crofts.

[1] Pièces et Documens, relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse — Bannatyne Club Publications.

may continue in the same to me.—Praying God, Monsieur de Noailles, to have you in his holy and proper care,

"Ever yours,

"MARIE."

"From Edinburgh, this 7th of August 1559."

Fresh troubles were prepared for Mary of Lorraine by the cabinet of her professedly friendly neighbour, Queen Elizabeth, whose tool for that purpose was the Earl of Arran, the eldest son of the Duke of Châtelherault. This young nobleman, having been deluded by Cecil with hopes of wedding Queen Elizabeth, in case he succeeded in usurping the crown of Scotland from his rightful Sovereign, Mary Stuart, had abandoned his post as commander of the Scotch Archer-Guard of the King of France, under the pretext that his life was in danger, fled to Geneva, abjured the Romish faith, came to the court of England, and enjoyed a private interview, in a summer bower at Greenwich, with the illustrious spinster whose hand had been offered to him in childhood, and, receiving flattering encouragement from her, returned secretly to Scotland, and without difficulty persuaded his father to forsake the cause of the Queen-Regent and unite himself to the Congregation. Mary of Lorraine soon penetrated the motives of this alliance. The military force of the house of Hamilton, which had been employed for her defence during the late tumults, was now transferred to the support of the insurgents, who were ready to take up arms again, on the ground that she had infringed the treaty, by restoring the mass in her own Chapel-royal at Holyrood, and requesting that it might be performed alternately with the prayers and services of the Reformed Church at St Giles's Cathedral, for the satisfaction of persons of her own religion, who were still numerous. This had been refused. Another grievance was the landing of a thousand French soldiers at Leith, for the purpose of establishing a garrison in that town, which the Queen-Regent began, with their assistance, to fortify. She had purchased the feudal rights of the soil from Logan of Restalrig, and erected Leith into a burgh in the first year of her regency, and freed the inhabitants from the jealous interference of the citizens of Edinburgh, who had pre-

viously monopolised the right of keeping shops and hostelries there.[1] The enfranchisement of the honest men of Leith by the Queen-Regent caused great offence to the citizens of Edinburgh; but she perceived the importance of the site for commercial purposes, and also the convenience of the port for the inlet of French troops—and, indeed, as a place of refuge for herself. She built a mansion for herself near Water Lane, in which she frequently resided during her retreats from Edinburgh. The only fragment of her palace now in existence is a stone tablet with her armorial bearings, Lorraine, impaled with the royal arms of Scotland, surmounted with the regal diadem, from which waves a spray of harebells on one side, and thistles on the other. Above is an inscription with her name and title,

MARIA DE LORRAINE,
REGINA SCOTIE, 1560.[2]

The previous ill-will, caused by the privileges granted by Mary of Lorraine to her daughter's subjects at Leith, was, of course, greatly increased when a thousand of her countrymen were added to that community; and as some of them brought their wives and children, buildings on an extensive scale were raised for their accommodation, which caused reports to be circulated that it was her intention to plant a French colony there; and, although she denied the imputation by her royal letters, the suspicion rendered her very unpopular with the people. The Duke of Châtelherault sent word to her, in the name of the Congregation, "that it was much misliked that the French did fortify Leith," and required her to desist; to which she haughtily replied, "It is as meet and lawful for the Queen, my daughter, in whose behalf I act, to fortify any place she listeth in her own realm, as for the Duke to build at Hamilton; nor will I desist at his bidding." This response

[1] Council Register, vol. i. p. 19-20. Arnot's History of Edinburgh.

[2] I have been favoured with a fine lithograph of this relic of the royal patroness of Leith by D. H. Robertson, Esq., a gentleman who is engaged in writing the history and antiquities of that interesting portion of the metropolis of Scotland, of which the fac-simile drawing is to be one of the illustrations.

being taken in evil part, the Congregation redoubled their preparations for a renewal of hostilities — making fresh and large demands of money from their friend the Queen of England. Messrs Sadler and Crofts, her agents, named the Earl of Glencairn, the Lairds of Dun, Ormiston, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Alexander Whitlaw, all old-established pensioners and secret-service men of England, as proper recipients of her bounty. A disbursement of four or five thousand pounds, to be expended in this way, is recommended in their despatch of Sept. 29th. At the same time, Monsieur La Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens arrived with a small retinue at Leith, bringing a commission from Francis and Mary, for negotiations of a pacific nature.[1]

Mary of Lorraine had the comfort of receiving by them an affectionate and sympathising letter from the young Queen her daughter, promising succour from her royal husband, Francis II. "I beseech you," she says, "with filial solicitude, neither to vex nor trouble yourself, but to have in remembrance that God, who has aided you so much in your former adversities, will not abandon you now that your need is greater than ever; for if you should fall ill, you know well there would be no hope of seeing the others (the leaders of the Congregation) different from what they now are; but I will hope that you may be the means of restoring them to God, and their duty. Pardon me if I be too bold; but the trouble I understand you have given yourself makes me fear much that you cannot be otherwise than ill, and I cannot help expressing what I feel. These two [La Brosse and the Bishop] will inform you sufficiently of what passes here, so I will say nothing about it, except to assure you that the King has such care for your succour as shall content you, for he has promised me that; and I will not allow him to forget it, nor the Queen [his mother] either. She has done us the honour to weep much, at hearing tell of your troubles."[2] These were indeed augmented by sickness

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 469-70.

[2] From the original French in Prince Labanoff's Collection, vol. i. p. 70-1.

and the treachery of her perfidious Secretary, Maitland of Lethington, who was in secret correspondence both with the insurgent lords and the Queen of England, to whom he betrayed all her secrets.[1]

The Queen-Regent wrote to the Duke of Châtelherault and the Lords of the Congregation, inviting them to come to a peaceful convention at Edinburgh, to hear the commission of the two French envoys. But they replied, "that, as long as any French soldiers remained in garrison in Scotland, they would not hazard themselves on her credit; and that, unless she would desist from fortifying Leith, and send away her Frenchmen, they would not take her for a mother of their commonwealth." She then wrote to the Prior of St Andrews, requesting, in the most endearing terms she could devise, his good offices in that matter, in behalf of the Queen, his sister. He replied, with characteristic coolness, "that he had laid her Highness's letter before the Congregational Council, having taken, like all the others, a solemn oath to hold no private communication with her; but when the rest of the nobles should convene, he would do what was in his power for the quietness of the realm—providing," he adds, "that the glory of Christ Jesus be not hindered by our concord: and if your Grace shall be found so tractable as now ye offer, I doubt not to obtain from the rest of my brethren such favours towards your service as your Grace shall have just occasion to stand content."[2] This style of answer convinced her of what she ought to have been previously aware—that she had nothing to hope from that quarter. She had transferred, however, her suspicions of his intended usurpation of her daughter's crown to the Earl of Arran, whose designs were so unmistakable that she could not refrain from telling a gentleman, who repeated the same to Sir Ralph Sadler, "that the first rising of the Congregation was, she believed, on the matter of religion, but now she saw they shot at another mark—that the Duke and his son intended to usurp the crown of Scotland; but she would defend her

[1] Sadler's State Papers.
[2] Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. Laing's edition.

daughter's right as well as she could; therefore, having no power herself to take the field, she, for the safety of the poor Frenchmen who had come to her aid, had taken the resolution of fortifying Leith, intending to remain there herself, and trusted to keep it till the succours, for which she looked to France, should arrive." She declared it was well victualled, and made very strong, having made the best of the short time they had been about it. She showed herself in earnest by removing everything she had out of Holyroodhouse into Leith, and declared her intention, "if need required, to retreat to Inchkeith. She is surely in great perplexity," continues our authority, "and is also very weak and sickly, so that as some think she cannot long continue."[1] Randolph, the celebrated English statesman, who had accompanied the Earl of Arran to Scotland as his political tutor, and also as a spy and reporter to Queen Elizabeth's minister, Cecil, reports the state of the Queen-Regent's health in these terms: "Some say she is very sick; some say the devil cannot kill her."[2] James V. had certainly lain down and died under a burden of regal coil and care, light indeed in comparison to the difficulties through which his widowed consort had, up to this period, steered her course. But she was now fighting a losing game, literally "kicking against the pricks"—a state of things impossible to continue long. The weather was very bad at this time, and great fears were entertained that the late harvest would not be got in at all. The apprehension of a famine increased the general gloom and misery of the people, who had been alternately rendered homeless by the aggressions of friend and foe, invaders and allies. The sick Queen, hearing on the 18th of October that the Congregationalists were advancing in great strength to Edinburgh, withdrew to Leith, and shut herself up within her newly raised fortifications. The next day the Lords required her by letter, in peremptory terms, to dismiss her garrison and all foreigners, and leave the town of Leith free to the King and Queen's lieges.[3]

[1] Sadler's State Papers. [2] Ibid. [3] Knox.

The spirit of the royal widow rose superior to bodily weakness, and the disastrous aspect of her affairs. Undismayed by the threatening tone of her antagonists, she sent for her Lord-Lion Herald, Robert Forman, and gave him by word of mouth her instructions to reply to the insurgent nobles, in the following words. "First of all," said she, "you shall declare to them my surprise that any other person should claim any power here, besides my son-in-law and daughter, from whom my authority is derived. The former conduct of the nobles, and their present requests, or rather commands, do sufficiently declare that they acknowledge no authority superior to themselves. You shall require the Duke of Châtelherault to call to mind what he promised me by word of mouth, and the King (Francis II.) by letters, that he would not only be loyal himself, but would take effectual care that his son, the Earl of Arran, should not mix himself in these tumults. Ask him whether his present conduct corresponds with those promises. To their letters, you shall reply, that, for the sake of public tranquillity, I will do whatsoever is not contrary to my duty to God and the King." [1]

Mary of Lorraine next proceeded to vindicate herself in mild, but forcible terms, from the charges that had been brought against her: "As for the destruction of law and liberty, it never entered into mine heart, much less to subdue the kingdom by force. For whom should I conquer it, seeing my daughter doth as lawful heiress possess it? As for the fortification at Leith, you shall ask whether I ever attempted anything therein before they, in many conventions, and at length by mutual conspiracy, had openly declared that they rejected the Government set over them by law; without my consent or advice—though I held the place of chief magistrate—had broken the public peace at their pleasure, by taking of towns, and had treated 'with the old enemy' for establishing a league. What reason have they, it may be inquired, to judge it lawful for them to keep up an army at Edinburgh, and yet it must not be lawful for me to have some forces

[1] Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 358.

about me at Leith for my defence? Their aim is to compel me, by often shifting of places, to avoid their fury as I have hitherto done. Do they discover any way to renew peace and concord? By what indication do they manifest that they are willing these tumults should be appeased? Let them colour and gild their pretences as they will, it is plain they intend nothing less. They themselves are not ignorant that the French, at the command of their King, had long since quitted Scotland, if their conduct had not occasioned their longer stay; and if they will now offer any honest conditions, which may afford reasonable hope that the majesty of the Government may be preserved, I shall not refuse any means of renewing the peace, nor omit anything necessary for the public good." She told the herald also to notify, "that the King of France had sent two noble persons as his commissioners for the accommodation of differences, but that they had neither vouchsafed to see them nor to receive their letters." In conclusion, her Majesty bade the Lord Lion require the Duke of Châtelherault and the other nobles to separate themselves from the insurgents, and leave Edinburgh forthwith, under penalty of being proclaimed traitors." Lofty language this, for a fugitive Princess to send from her sick chamber to the formidable opponents who had only three days previously driven her out of her metropolis. The following letter, with which she accredited the courageous gentleman who ventured to undertake her errand, is a notable specimen of a queenly laconic, in which, without condescending to the use of a single offensive epithet, her royal displeasure is strongly manifested:—

"After commendations, we have received your letter from Edinburgh the 19th of this instant, which appeareth to us rather to have come from a Prince to his subjects, than from subjects to them that have authority—whereof we have presently directed unto you this bearer, Lion Herald King-of-Arms, sufficiently instructed with our mind, to whom ye shall give credence.

"At Leith, October 21st, 1559.

(Signed,) "MARIE R."

The haughty tone of civility adopted by her Majesty in her credence, appears to have been more displeasing to those

to whom it was addressed than if she had given way to angry passion, and condescended to bandy invectives with them in reply to the coarse language they had applied to her. They proceeded, by the advice of their preachers, Knox and Willock, to pass a unanimous vote for suspending her from her authority as regent of the realm; and proclaimed this, their sentence, by sound of trumpet at the market cross of Edinburgh, in the name, and, as they somewhat incredibly asserted, by the authority of their sovereign lord and lady, her daughter and son-in-law, Francis and Mary. This done, they sent their reply to her message by the Lord Lion, informing her of their resolution to obey her no longer, and requiring her to withdraw her person and French soldiers from Leith in the course of twenty-four hours.[1] They next proceeded to summon the garrison of Leith to surrender within twelve hours, which being disregarded, a defiance was given, and preparations made for an assault. The hastily raised fortifications of Leith were reported as untenable by traitors within, and it was believed that Mary of Lorraine would retreat with her ladies from the terrors of the storm to her wave-surrounded fortress at Inchkeith—cold quarters for a dropsical invalid at that gloomy season. Her residence at Leith, however, could not have been the most agreeable, according to Sir Ralph Sadler's report of the 25th of October: "Many of the French steal dayly away, and four or five were hanged that were taken going. They are at their diet, [short commons,] which we hear is very spare, and her friends very few." He mentions in another despatch of the same date, that in a skirmish between the Congregationalists and the French at Leith, "Kirkcaldy of Grange slew a Frenchman, whereby the Protestants had the first blood, which they do take for good luck,"—a national superstition derived, no doubt, from their pagan ancestors, who thought to propitiate Mars, Woden, or whatever fiend they honoured as their battle-god, with a sacrificial oblation of human blood. Sir Walter

[1] The particulars of the debate and the letter will be found in Knox at length. He has abridged the message sent by Mary of Lorraine, but we have quoted it in full from Buchanan.

Scott makes effective use of this idea in *The Lady of the Lake*, where Brian delivers the oracular couplet—

> "Who spills the foremost foeman's life,
> His party conquers in the strife."

An augury that was not, however, fulfilled as regarded the cause of Congregation *versus* Queen; for the scaling-ladders, which had been prepared in the aisles of St Giles' Church by the carpenters of the former, proved too short, and the assailants of Leith were repulsed with loss. Then £4000 of English money, which the Laird of Ormiston had received from Crofts and Sadler for the use of the Congregation, was intercepted and captured by James, Earl of Bothwell, who had commenced his political career as one of that party, but now deserted to the Queen-Regent.[1] She had just before been deserted by her perfidious secretary, Maitland of Lethington, who not only betrayed her plans and resources to her implacable foes, but did his utmost to inflame their minds against her, by assuring them "that she was made up of craft and falsehood, and never intended to keep faith with them." It appears strange that no one has had sufficient discrimination to notice that the faults of Mary of Lorraine, in swerving from the conventional decencies of political faith, first occurred while this perfidious statesman acted as her prime-minister, and for these he ought really to bear the responsibility, though he has shifted the blame on her. Time, the great mother of truth, in the course of the next ten or twelve years unveiled the depths of falsehood and iniquity of which Lethington was capable. Yet Mary of Lorraine, a foreign Princess imperfectly acquainted with the Scotch dialect and its mysterious implications, remains burdened with the reproach which justly belongs to her subtle secretary, the man who acted the part of Achitophel in the season of her prosperity, and deserted, betrayed, and calumniated her in the hour of her distress, in order to become the agent of selling the independence of Scotland to the English Sovereign. The fortunes of Mary of Lorraine, which were at the very lowest ebb, and judged desperate at the epoch when Lethington

[1] Knox. Sadler's State Papers. Lord Herries' History of Mary.

left her to join the Congregation, began to amend as soon as her Councils were freed from his espionage. The Provost of Dundee, James Halyburton, one of the most able military commanders of the Congregation, had, with the assistance of a chosen band of his townsmen, raised a battery on the Hawk Hill, above Leith, with the intent of storming the Queen-Regent in her little city of refuge. His position was well chosen for that purpose, and he had all the cannon of the Lords of the Congregation and the good town of Edinburgh at his disposal, save and except that belonging to the Castle, which Lord Erskine, the Parliamentary keeper of the royal fortress, held in strict neutrality, independently of either party. Nevertheless, Halyburton had quite enough to have effected his purpose in the course of a few days. But while the beleaguered Queen and her ladies were looking, with anxiety which may well be imagined, towards the progress of the formidable preparations on the heights above them, expecting momentarily the commencement of the cannonade, she received information from one of her secret adherents in Edinburgh, of the name of Clerk, that all the leading men of the Congregation, both civil and military, were gone to attend the preachings one morning, and there was reason to believe that the said preachings would occupy their attention for many hours, as indeed it befell. No sooner was this intimation received, than her Majesty animated a chosen party of her French guard to make a sortie from Leith and seize the artillery, which they succeeded in carrying off, and slew Halyburton and the small force that rallied to resist them. A party of desperadoes, whom Knox calls their *enfants perdu*,[1] penetrated as far as the Canongate, and to the foot of Leith Wynd, slew all who resisted them, and returned to Leith loaded with booty.

Knox, who gives a pathetic account of this disaster, attributes the discomfiture of the Congregation to a treacherous shout being raised among themselves, "that the whole French army had entered Leith Wynd upon our backs,"

[1] "The full of hope misnamed forlorn."

says he. "What clamour and misorder did suddenly arise we list not to express with multiplication of words. The horsemen, and some of those who ought to have put order to others, overrode their poor brethren at the entrance of the Nether Bow. The cry of discomfort arose in the town, the wicked and malignant blasphemed, the feeble, among whom the Justice-Clerk, Sir John Bannatyne, was, fled, without mercy." He describes the behaviour of Mary of Lorraine in these words: "The Queen, glad of victory, sat upon the rampart to salute and welcome her victorious soldiers. One brought a kirtle, another a petticoat, the third a pot or a pan; and of *invy*, more than womanly *lauchtter*, [laughter,] she asked, 'Where bought ye your ware? *Je pense que vous l'avez acheté sans argent.* I guess ye have purchased that without money.' This was the great and motherly care which she took for the trouble of the poor subjects of this realm." Conduct, indeed, strangely inconsistent with the quiet dignity of her manners, and the more remarkable, if true, because she was at that time labouring under an illness of the most depressing nature. It was rather more likely to have been the vivacious wives of some of the French soldiers who greeted them with those familiar pleasantries on their return. This stirring business occurred on the last day of October.

The cause of the Queen-Regent was now in the ascendant; fear and perplexity divided the councils of the Congregation. The captain of the castle, although the maternal uncle of the Prior of St Andrews, would promise no favour to his aspiring kinsman and his party.[1] He had, nevertheless, considered it his duty to check the French assailants with a discharge from his guns, to preserve the good town from their aggressions; but no sooner had they retired to their old quarters at Leith than he resumed his guarded neutrality,[2] and continued to look down from his eagle's nest on the conflicting passions that agitated the rival parties attached to the old faith or the new. The fickleness of popular favour manifested itself early in November.

[1] Knox. Lord Herries. Tytler.
[2] Knox's History of the Reformation. Sadler's State Papers.

Knox complains "that the wicked then began to spew forth the venom which before lurked in their cankered heart. . . . The despiteful tongues of the wicked railed upon us, calling us traitors and heretics: every one provoked other to cast stones at us. . . . We would never have believed," continues he, "that our natural countrymen and women could have wished our destruction so unmercifully, and have so rejoiced in our adversity."

A sharp skirmish was fought at Restalrig on All-Hallow-e'en between the French and a party of the Congregationalists, commanded by the warlike Prior of St Andrews (James Stuart) and the Earl of Arran, in which the latter were defeated, and with difficulty escaped with their lives; but though the loss only amounted to twenty-five men slain, the panic was so great that consternation, mutiny, and flight took place in consequence. On the 5th of November the whole Congregation came to the determination of making a precipitate retreat from Edinburgh, with their lords and preachers, at midnight. They were followed by such of the burghers and citizens as still continued attached to their party, together with their wives and children, and scarcely paused to look behind them till they arrived at Stirling. Mary of Lorraine entered Edinburgh in triumph on the morrow.[1] She has been accused of being of a cruel and vindictive temper by writers who have suffered their prejudices to influence their pens against her; but as the facts are decidedly contrary to such assertions, it is the duty of her biographer to produce the following evidence that she made no ungentle use of her good fortune on the present occasion. "The Queen Dowager," writes Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts to Cecil, "as we hear, useth no extremity, *ne* pursueth any man that hath showed himself against her at this time, but hath made proclamation and given pardon to all the burgesses and inhabitants of Edinburgh, wishing such as are fled thence to return and make their habitation and do their lawful business there as they

[1] Knox. Lord Herries. Tytler.

have done, which she hath promised them they shall do without pursuit or danger. And the said Scottish herald Rosse also reporteth here that he thought she would receive the Duke and the Lords to her grace and favour, if they would put away from them Balnaves, young Lydington, and Ormeston, and such others, by whom, she sayeth, the said Lords be led and abused."[1]

However mistaken the notions of Mary of Lorraine were as to modes of faith, her actions appear to have been based on the divine precept of mercy rather than sacrifice, for she did not stain her triumph with a single execution under any pretext whatsoever. The first person who availed himself of her clemency was the Lord Robert, Commendator of Holyrood, one of the illegitimate sons of her late husband James V., to whom she frankly accorded her pardon for having taken up arms against her.[2] Of his brother, the Prior of St Andrews, she spoke with some bitterness at this period, observing, "that she had ever shown herself gracious to him, but he had acted with inconceivable malice and ingratitude against her. Others, though opposed to her in various ways, had occasionally rested from annoying her, but he never did; and this behaviour," she declared, "she could not forget."[3] The ambitious son of the Lady of Lochleven had, of course, been taught to look on the wedded wife of his royal sire, and their lawful offspring, with feelings the very reverse of those which Mary of Lorraine fondly imagined her kindly patronage of him and his sister, the young Countess of Argyll, entitled her to expect.

Mary of Lorraine sedulously endeavoured to prevail on Lord Erskine to decide the closely balanced struggle between her and the Lords of the Congregation, by giving her possession of Edinburgh Castle, or at least declaring himself on her side; but he was as inflexible to her entreaties as he had been to those of his nephew the Prior in behalf of the Congregation, constantly declaring his determination to hold that fortress independently of both

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 586.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

factions. One concession, however—a chivalric one—he made in compassion to the weaker sex, and out of the personal respect he bore to her Majesty, namely, that in event of any serious cause of distress, if she found herself pressed beyond her endurance, or in danger of her life, he would grant her an asylum within those impregnable walls, and defend her from all assailants.[1] It was a comfort to this sorely harassed Princess to feel and know that there was one generous spirit on whose promises she could rely, in her utmost need. She crept as closely as she could under the protection of his guns, in the mean time, abandoning the perilous grandeur of her royal palace at Holyrood, whence she had been so often hunted by invaders or rebels, and took up her abode at a comparatively humble dwelling which she had, when Queen-Consort, built and fitted up as a private retreat for herself on the north side of the Castle-hill.[2] It occupied the site since known by the familiar name of Blythe's Close. The remains of Mary of Lorraine's house and chapel-royal were distinguished by her initial cipher, M.R., and J.R., that of her royal consort James V., her coronet and escutcheon charged with the Fleurs-de-Lys. Over the door was this inscription—LAUS ET HONOR DEO. A small iron coffer was found imbedded in the wall, and was presented to Sir Walter Scott—it may still be seen among the relics at Abbotsford.

Mary of Lorraine wrote to announce the auspicious change in her prospects to her royal children, by birth and marriage, the youthful Sovereigns of France and Scotland, begging them to support her with succours. This they promised to do; but she was long destined to look for the expected aid, in a restless fever of hope deferred. It has been conjectured that, had Mary of Lorraine been left solely to her own resources and address, she might either have weathered the storm or succeeded in restoring a calm by prudent concessions, if it had not been for the interference of her powerful neighbour, Queen Elizabeth.

[1] Sadler's State Papers. Keith. Spottiswood.

[2] It has been very accurately described in Robert Chambers's charming work, Traditions of Edinburgh.

That Princess, who had industriously fomented the domestic strife in Scotland in various ways, but principally by large promises and occasional grants of pecuniary loans and gifts to the Lords of the Congregation, was now flattered by their envoy, Maitland of Lethington, with the offer of the virtual annexation of the hitherto unconquered and unconquerable realm of Scotland, as a province or a vassal kingdom, of which the Earl of Arran was to be invested with the crown by the Lords of the Congregation—by whom she was at the same time solicited to accept him as a consort.[1] But as she was not willing to contract matrimony with him, they proposed that he and his heirs after him should hold the Crown of Scotland of her and her successors, to acknowledge liege homage to the Sovereign of England, by the payment of an annual tribute. Nor was this all; for, in token of national inferiority—which no King of Scotland but Baliol had ever condescended to allow—the arms of Scotland were to be placed below those of England.[2] Derogatory as those terms were to the honour of a country which had hitherto vied with ancient Sparta in its glorious struggles for the maintenance of its independence, they were too flattering to the pride and ambition of Elizabeth not to be accepted; but they were kept profoundly secret. Elizabeth agreed to send a naval armament of eight large vessels of war, commanded by Admiral Winter, into the Firth, with supplies of arms, ammunition, and provisions, in aid of the Congregation, with a quota of three thousand troops; in return for which, the leaders of that party engaged to put four of the strongholds of Scotland—namely, Dunbar, Dumbarton, Dumfries, and Inchkeith—into the hands of her lieutenant-general, the Duke of Norfolk,[3] as soon as they should have succeeded by his aid in dislodging the garrisons of the Queen-Regent, and expelling the French troops, whose presence in Scotland was, of course, regarded by Elizabeth with jealousy.

[1] The whole scheme is detailed in the reports of the French ambassador, Noailles, to his own court, Nov. 1559, printed from the French Archives, in the Bannatyne Club volume. Pièces et Documens relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse. Keith's Appendix.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Haynes' State Papers.

Rapid and energetic measures were used by this great Sovereign for the purpose of crushing the Queen-Regent before the arrival of the French armament which was preparing in Normandy by Francis II., for the support of his royal mother-in-law, under the command of her youngest brother, the Marquis d'Elbœuf. Elizabeth's general, the Duke of Norfolk, crossed the Border at the head of a mighty army eager for plunder; and Scotland found herself in a more direful predicament than she had ever been placed, in the most disastrous periods of her history — not only torn by the contending furies of a civil and religious war, (to both of which, terms directly opposite might be more applicable,) but the victim of two foreign princes, who were making her lacerated bosom the theatre of their hostilities.

The agonising excitement of the crisis brought on a dangerous relapse of the fatal malady with which Mary of Lorraine had been struggling during the last six months. The report of her death is mentioned in the following humane terms by Sir Ralph Sadler and his coadjutor, in their joint letter, dated Nov. 21—"The bruit goeth that the Queen-Dowager is departed this life, but we think the news too good to be true; and yet most true it is that she is in great extremity of sickness, such as most men think she cannot escape; which, if it follow, will make a great alteration in this matter."

The next news of Mary of Lorraine's health is contained in a curious contemporary letter to Sir James Crofts, from a Roxburghshire laird, which affords so rich a picture of the state of the country at that period that we cannot refrain presenting the southern reader with a modern version of the same.

PATRICK WHITLAW to Sir JAMES CROFTS.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,—After lawful commendations, please you to be remembered that I spake with you about the wanting of my oxen and a mare and a foal, which was stolen from me, as you know; desiring your M. [*mastership*] to be my good friend thereunto, and suchlike, desiring you to speak to Master Sadler to be good unto it. Moreover, the Queen is living, and has been very sick, and is not yet well convalesced. The stealers of my oxen is Ade Acheson, *alias* Pasar, Scotchman; Jone Younger,

Englishman, dwelling in Itall. These are the receivers of my oxen: Robin Vadderat, dwelling within Alnwick Park, one of the foresters of the wood, has four of them; Robert Bakors, of Branxtown, has three of them, and the foal and the mare—the which I sall gar Englishmen testify, that saw them in their ploughs, and come and tell your M.; and your answer with this bearer what ye will unto it. And God keep you.

"At Cowburspathe, the 24th day of November, by your lawful friend,
PATRICK WHITLAW, of that ilk."[1]

The following bulletin of Mary of Lorraine's health was forwarded by Messrs Crofts and Sadler to their own Court, December 5:—"The said Queen Dowager languisheth still in great sickness, and, as we be credibly informed, her physicians and all others out of hope of her recovery, and think she cannot long continue."

Mary of Lorraine continued, nevertheless, to direct the movements of her party with no inconsiderable ability and energy; but she was weary of the turmoil, and desirous of relinquishing the vice-regal functions which she had, in the blindness of her ambition, coveted, and in an evil hour obtained. An isolated foreigner in a land of strangers, companionless, misrepresented, and reviled, she languished for sympathy and affection, those natural necessities of the heart of woman. She was a daughter—her mother, the widowed Antoinette de Bourbon, was yet alive: she would arise and go to her, and rest her aching head on the bosom which had pillowed it in her unconscious dawn of life. She had sisters—the loved companions of happy childhood; they had early resigned the world and its cares for the peaceful retirement of the cloister and the veil: she would flee to them, and shut out the clamorous strife that pursued her night and day. She had a daughter, the Queen of her native land—her loving, her beautiful, her beloved Mary, the youngest born, the only surviving, and the dearest of all the children she had borne: she would go to her, for whose presence she had yearned during years of maternal loneliness, spent in bootless toils for the good of Scotland. She would resign her difficult and thankless office to

[1] Printed in Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 600. The original orthography is irresistibly ludicrous, but would unfortunately puzzle any person not well versed in the Scotch of the sixteenth century.

masculine hands, and return to her own dear France, where she might at least die in quiet. These sentiments, if not expressed in absolute words, are fully implied in the royal commission, executed at Blois, 4th of December 1559, by the youthful Sovereigns, Francis and Mary, constituting their uncle René, Marquis d'Elbœuf, Regent of Scotland, "in the place of their beloved lady mother, Queen-Regent, who, on account of her infirm state of health, perceiving herself incapable of the fatigue of state affairs, desires to withdraw privately from Scotland into France, for change of air and milder climate; meaning to come at her first convenient opportunity, by easy journeys as she can bear it, in order to obtain rest and relaxation for a while for the burden and vexation she has endured, both by night and day, of care and conflicts which have entirely destroyed her health. For this melancholy reason, they, her children, are desirous to receive her in France, and to commit the government of their realm, during her absence, into efficient hands for restraining the turbulence of the nobles and protecting their subjects; and, for his many noble qualities, have made choice of the said René of Lorraine, their dearest uncle."[1]

This blessed interval of peace and rest—this return to her native land and to her own people, was not for Mary of Lorraine. She was to see France no more, nor were her longing eyes ever to behold her daughter served and honoured as France's Queen. It was, perhaps, the fond hope of doing so that produced a temporary amendment for a few days after she heard of this arrangement. Fresh cares oppressed her, and again she relapsed, and her physicians despaired of her recovery. Her royal daughter and son-in-law, in great anxiety, despatched M. la Marque, a French noble of high rank, with a letter to Queen Elizabeth, acquainting her with the dangerous state of the unfortunate Queen-Regent of Scotland, and requesting her to grant him a safe-conduct to travel through her dominions to Edinburgh—the stormy state of the weather, and the aggressive conduct of the English ships in the Channel, rendering this course necessary. The French ambassador

[1] Second Supplement in Labanoff, vol. vii. p. 282-283.

having obtained from Elizabeth leave to present la Marque for this purpose on the New Year's day, January 1, 1560, she received them graciously, carefully examined the credential letter, and expressed some concern for the indisposition of the Queen-Regent, which, however, she affected to believe was either unreal or greatly exaggerated, asking "them if they had had any fresh intelligence of the health of that lady, as she had been given to understand that she was quite well at present."

"Our latest reports of her were, that she was at the point of death," replied la Marque; "and the King, both Queens, Madame de Guise, her mother, her brothers, and all her relations, are in great distress about her, and will suffer the most poignant anxiety till my return." Noailles added, "that not only was this publicly well known in England for several days past, but that almost every one had assured him that it had been caused by the conduct of the Queen of England."

"It is a bad tongue," retorted Elizabeth, "that reports the evil rather than the good. I understand that she has been for a long time subject to some malady which often afflicts her, and that the pain and other ill effects of this have impaired her health, so that it is from mere malice that they speak thus." Finally, she desired La Marque to present her most affectionate regards to the Queen-Regent, and to assure her that, if her prayers for her Majesty's health and prosperity could avail aught with God, she would willingly and devoutly employ them, to entreat Him to give her as much length of life, repose, and content as she could desire for herself.[1]

To the surprise of every one, Mary of Lorraine rallied once more; and to this the defeat of the Duke of Châtelherault and the Prior of St Andrews, at Stirling, on Christmas eve, probably contributed—especially as the Duke, knowing that she had invited his old adversary, Matthew, Earl of Lennox, to return to Scotland, offering to support his claims to the succession and the Hamilton estates, hastened

[1] Pièces et Documens Inedits, relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse, in the French Archives—unpublished volume of the Bannatyne Club.

to make his peace with her. The only terms on which she would even admit him to her presence were, that he should make unconditional submission to her daughter for his late treasonable attempts. He accordingly wrote the following humble letter to Francis II., which she consented to forward to that prince:—[1]

"SIRE,—The pledge which it has pleased the Queen-Regent to give me of your goodness and clemency, has emboldened me to write this very humble entreaty for you to receive me and mine into your grace, and that you will forget and forgive all past offences, especially some matters which I make my particular request to you. I herewith place my *blanc scellé* [carte blanche, with his seal appended] in your hands, for an assurance of my fidelity to you and the Queen my sovereign, and supplicate you to accept the same; and after I have your reply, if you require me do so, I will send my children to France."

Mary of Lorraine, in her letter to Noailles three days later, speaks of both the Hamilton duke and his letter with sovereign contempt; and, for the purpose of effectually breaking the dangerous connection between him and Queen Elizabeth, she directs Noailles to inform that Princess of the circumstance, and even to show her a copy of the letter, whereby she may learn how little confidence may be reposed in the professions of the rebel lords.[2]

Warned by this additional proof of the instability of the Duke of Châtelherault, Elizabeth directed her agents to tamper with the ambition of a more able and dangerous rival of the daughter of Mary of Lorraine. Meantime the mighty English fleet, commanded by Admiral Winter, entered the Firth. Inwardly dismayed as the unfortunate Mary of Lorraine must have been at the arrival of this formidable array, she assumed at least the intrepid demeanour that beseemed her station, and sent a deputation on board the Admiral's ship, to demand the cause of his visit in a time of peace. He replied, according to the tenor of his instructions, "that his intentions were amicable; that

[1] Dated at Glasgow, 25th January 1559-60, and signed James. This letter has hitherto been overlooked by every writer on Scotch affairs, save the French editor of the privately-printed collection of Pièces et Documens Inedits, relatifs à la Histoire d'Ecosse, from which it is now translated.

[2] Pièces et Documens Inedits, relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse.

he came to convoy a provision fleet to Berwick, and had entered the Firth in quest of pirates."[1] He had himself acted somewhat in that character, by capturing two provision-ships bound for the port of Leith. This he defended by coolly observing, "that the French garrison had first fired on him." The firing to which the English admiral alluded was a friendly salute given by the French commandants, in consequence of mistaking his fleet for that of the Marquis d'Elbœuf.[2] Those long-expected ships had, with far different fortune, been repeatedly scattered by adverse gales, and driven back on the coast of Normandy. According to Knox, eighteen of the squadron were lost in one night; and of all that sailed, full of presumptuous purposes against Scotland, only that small portion of the armament commanded by Martigues—namely, a thousand foot-soldiers—succeeded in effecting a landing in Scotland. After the arrival of the English fleet, the Queen-Regent and her party were placed in a complete state of blockade, deprived of all chance of receiving succours of any kind from France, and in great want of provisions. Money also failed, her Majesty having sold or pawned all her jewels, and coined her household plate, to pay the mercenaries. In failure of the pecuniary aids generally granted by Parliament to supply the exigencies of the Crown, this Princess resorted to the most fatal of all expedients, that of debasing the standard of the currency, and raising the nominal value of the old coinage. She had exhausted all her personal resources ere she took this unpopular step. Hume of Blackadder, in her utmost need, advanced her a thousand pounds on the last jewel she possessed of her own—a cross of gold, by no means worth that sum; but the pledge was honourably redeemed by Mary Stuart, out of respect to the memory of her royal mother.[3] The intention of Mary of Lorraine to demit the regency to her brother, and retire to France, must have been kept a profound secret from all but a faithful few necessary assistants in her escape from her fatal office, since it has never been mentioned by

[1] Keith. Tytler. [2] Ibid. Lesley. Knox.
[3] Treasury Records, Register House, Edinburgh.

the historians of that painfully interesting period of Scottish history. Yet the existence of the Commission from Francis and Mary to d'Elbœuf is substantial evidence that such was the arrangement. It is impossible to reflect without shuddering on what might have been the result, if this project, of the bold unscrupulous Princes of the house of Guise for the subjugation of the Protestants in Scotland, had not been frustrated by the Providential storms which prevented the wild rash youth whom they had selected as a fitting instrument for that work from arriving, supported by the fleets and veteran troops of France, to supersede their dying sister. Her gentle influence alone had restrained her fiery countryman, Martigues, from laying the whole country round Edinburgh waste, and withheld the Roman Catholic nobles from perpetrating sanguinary deeds of vengeance, in retaliation for the outrages committed on their places of worship; but one week of d'Elbœuf's government would, in all human probability, have let loose the demons of destructive bigotry, and produced a series of the most revolting tragedies in every town and village throughout the realm. This danger was happily averted. Mary of Lorraine continued to bear her burden of regal care during the remnant of her few sad days. The gloomy winter of 1559-60 wore away; but the aspect of the spring was thus celebrated by old Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington in his rhymes on the New Year, dated March 25th, 1560:—

"I cannot sing for the vexation
Of Frenchmen and the Congregation,
That has made trouble in the nation
And many a *bair bigging*.[1]
I have no will to sing or dance,
For fear of England and of France;
God send them sorrow and mischance,
In cause of their coming."

The Queen-Regent, being now confidently informed that the Lords of the Congregation had concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Queen Elizabeth,

[1] Many a bare building, or plundered house.

and had delivered hostages for the fulfilment of their pact with "the old enemy" against their native Sovereign, and that, in consequence, an English army of eight thousand well-armed and appointed men, under the command of Lord Grey of Wilton, had already crossed the Border, and was coming to attack her in her metropolis, she thought it time to claim the asylum Lord Erskine had promised within the walls of Edinburgh Castle. Her coffers, and the few things of value she still possessed, had been conveyed there some weeks previously from Holyrood for security, on the arrival of the English fleet;[1] and on the 1st of April 1560, she, with her ladies and a few gentlemen of rank, who attended her either out of affection for her person or respect for their Sovereign, appeared a melancholy train before the gates of the sternly-guarded citadel, and petitioned for a refuge. The portcullis was instantly raised, and the royal widow was received, with reverential respect and pity in the hour of distress, by the sturdy castellan, who had defied her threats and resisted her commands in the short-lived day of her power.[2] At her request, Lord Erskine admitted also her former political adversary, the Archbishop of St Andrews, now almost clinging to the hem of her garments for protection, having been cast off by the Duke, his brother, when that nobleman renewed his broken faith with the leaders of the Reformation. The Earl Marischal, the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, James Makgill, Clerk-Register, a few other gentlemen, and her confessor, were also allowed to enter Edinburgh Castle with her Majesty.[3] More than one traitor, alas! was in the company which, apparently bound by no meaner ties than those of grateful attachment, followed the feeble steps of that poor faded shadow of a Queen to her last retreat, whither she had gone to die—but not in peace, for she was within hearing, almost within sight, of the hostile operations which commenced in less than a week after she had been received within the castle. The English army hav-

[1] Treasury Records, cited by David Laing, Esq., in his notes to Knox's History of the Reformation.

[2] Diurnal of Occurrents. [3] Lesley. Knox.

ing formed a junction with that of the Congregation, they advanced to Restalrig, and a sharp skirmish took place on Palm Sunday eve, April 6th, between them and the French, who were driven back to Leith with some loss. Just before the commencement of this fight, Lord Grey sent two of the English commanders—namely, Sir James Crofts, the captain of Berwick, and Sir George Howard—to demand an audience with the Queen-Regent in her tower of refuge, to explain the cause of the hostile English array that had entered her daughter's realm. As Lord Erskine would not admit either Englishman or Frenchman within the castle, the sick Queen came forth of her chamber and made her appearance on the parapet of the front block-house, and conferred with the two gentlemen as they stood without the gates below.[1] That a private plot could be hatched between two of the members of a group thus situated, in the presence of the third, withal appears to exceed the bounds of possibility; it is, however, intimated by Knox that the Queen-Regent availed herself of that opportunity to corrupt Sir James Crofts, heretofore one of the bitterest of her foes, as the evidence of his own letters will prove. Her accuser himself appears to consider it necessary to account for the performance of such a marvel by the insinuation that it was not accomplished by any ordinary or natural means, for he says—"*Quhidder* [whether] she had *enchantit* him, we know not; but by the suspicion of that day, in the quhilk he *desaivit* the expectation of many, and so far as man could judge, was the cause of that greit repulse, for some ascribit the shortness of the *ledderis* [ladders] to him."[2] An uncandid suspicion as regards the ladders, surely, as the reader will remember a previous failure occurred from precisely the same reason, although they had been constructed by the elect carpenters of the Congregation, in the aisles of St Giles's Church, while Sir James Crofts was as far off as Berwick. Mary of Lorraine had, before the commencement of hostilities, received a letter addressed to her from Dalkeith by the Lords of the Congregation, requiring her to dismiss her

[1] Lesley. [2] History of the Reformation.

French army, and offering to return to their allegiance on reasonable conditions. She replied "that what they required depended not on her, but the French commanders, who were acting under the orders of their own Sovereign; but offered to submit the terms to them, and proposed that a conference should be appointed for that purpose." This was refused by the Congregation,[1] and the skirmishing began while the Queen was engaged in conferring with the English delegates. The next encounter took place on Easter Monday, April 15th, when the fiery Count Martigues forced the trenches of the besiegers, spiked three large cannons, and made a great slaughter. The Queen-Regent, who was sore sick at the time, took this opportunity of making offers of a pacific nature, but to no effect. On the 22d of April, however, Montluc, Bishop of Valence, who had been despatched by Francis II. and Mary Stuart with overtures of accommodation to Queen Elizabeth, in the fruitless hope of relieving their royal mother from the vindictive pursuit of that powerful foe, arrived in the English camp, under the escort of Rouge Dragon and Henry Killigrew, Queen Elizabeth having signified her pleasure that he should be safely conducted to the Queen Dowager.[2] The proceedings against that unfortunate Princess had gone far beyond the intention of Elizabeth, or any of the more moderate party—Lord Grey of Wilton, whose cruelty as a military commander is deeply condemned even by his own comrades, having carried matters to the utmost extremity to which his own violent party could drive them.

A truce of four-and-twenty hours was proposed to the Queen-Regent, that conferences for a general pacification might take place. She acceded joyfully to this arrangement; but as the Lords of the Congregation demanded the expulsion of the French army as their preliminary article, to which she would not consent unless the English were dismissed at the same time, the negotiation proved abortive. The royal widow, whose spirits were broken by her long illness and the hopeless position of affairs, wept and sobbed with irrepressible emotion in the presence of the commis-

[1] Spottiswood. Buchanan. [2] Haynes' State Papers.

sioners while expressing her earnest wish for peace. This trait of feminine weakness is alluded to by the Duke of Norfolk, in his letter to Cecil, in the most unfeeling language. The fact that the same person who thus derided the tears, which he elegantly terms the *blowtering*,[1] of Mary of Lorraine, was subsequently doomed to lose his head on a scaffold for the sake of her royal daughter, Mary Stuart, exceeds in marvellousness many of the creations of romance. The pages of history, however, contain records not only of things marvellous, but of things impossible—witness the following tale, which Knox relates of the conduct of Mary of Lorraine during the storming of Leith by the combined forces of England and the Congregation, on the 7th of May 1560:—

"The Queen-Regent sat all the time of the assault, which was both terrible and long, upon the fore wall of the castle of Edinburgh; and when she perceived the overthrow of us, and that the ensigns of the French were again displayed upon the walls, she gave ane *gawfe* of laughter, and said, 'Now will I go to the mass and praise God for that which my eyes have seen!' . . . . The French, proud of the victory, stripped naked all the slain, and laid their dead carcasses before the hot sun along their wall, where they suffered them to remain more days than one, unto the which, when the Queen-Regent looked, for mirth she hopped, and said, 'Yonder are the fairest tapestry that ever I saw: I would that the whole fields that is betwixt this place and yon were strewed with the same stuff.'"[2]

Surely when such a story as this was related to John Knox, it behoved him, as a minister of the Gospel, to have inquired into, not merely its credibility, but its possibility, before he ventured to promulgate it, as he tells us he did, "openly in pulpit," accompanied with an imprecation, which he calls "a

[1] Haynes' State Papers. This word is a vulgar provincial synonyme, still in use in Lancashire, for wailing or lamenting with many tears, being equivalent to the disgusting word blubbering. "The lambs are *blethering* after their dams," is sometimes said by the north country peasants.

[2] Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 68.

prophecy of God's vengeance," against the dying mother of his Sovereign;[1] and boasts of its fulfilment, in the aggravated symptoms of her direful malady, in language too revolting for repetition.[2] The unfortunate lady whom he describes as bursting into great fits of laughter, and hopping in her mirth on the rampart of Edinburgh Castle, was in the last stage of that woeful soul-depressing disease, dropsy, and had been for more than a year reduced to the necessity of supporting her feeble steps with a staff. She was, at the date specified by him for the performance of these vivacious feats, within five weeks of the termination of her earthly sufferings. And here, for the information of those who may possibly be unacquainted with the nature of the malady, it is necessary to notice that one of its attendant symptoms, in fatal and inveterate cases, is the decay, and almost total eclipse, of the visual powers, the delicate mechanism of the optical nerves being disarranged and drowned in water; yet Knox represents Mary of Lorraine as rejoicing to behold with her glazed, swollen, and death-dimmed orbs, objects which the longest-sighted pair of bright young eyes could not have distinguished at such a distance—namely, two miles.

"So blind is wrath, so false a witness hate."

The odds were fearfully against Mary of Lorraine and her friends, in this closely fought game, and it would have been strange indeed, if her heart had not overflowed with gratitude to God for every success that cast a temporary brightness on her desolate prospects. There can be no doubt that she ordered a solemn service of thanksgiving to be performed in her chapel-royal, within the Castle, on account of the repulse of the English before Leith; but in a far different spirit from the ferocious exultation pictured by Knox to his congregation. Her joy for the deliverance of her friends was chastened with mourning for the miseries that still surrounded her. The use she made of her triumph was to send a message to the Lords, expressing her deep commiseration for the afflicted state of the country, and her desire of peace; and, in order to this blessed

[1] Knox's History of the Reformation. [2] Ibid.

object, she requested a conference with the Earls of Huntley and Glencairn. For some reason, it was not considered expedient that she should see those she had named; but a deputation, consisting of the Prior of St Andrews, Lord Ruthven, the Master of Maxwell, and her perfidious Secretary, Lethington, was sent to her by the Congregation. Of all people in the world, she had reason to regard three of these persons with the greatest displeasure; but she received them with her usual mildness, and listened graciously to the conditions on which they professed themselves willing to return to their allegiance — namely, that the French troops should be dismissed from Scotland, and the other causes of complaint submitted to the decision of a Parliament.[1] Reasonable as these terms appeared, Mary of Lorraine had no power either to accept or reject them. "The misery was," observes Buchanan, "that, although she bore the name of Regent, and lacked not the virtues meet for that dignity, yet did she rule precariously, because in all matters of moment she had to receive answers, like so many oracles, from France." Aware that her Yes or No might prove but empty words, she stated candidly that she must consult the authorities commissioned by the King of France for that purpose, and requested time to communicate the proposals to M. d'Oysell, La Brosse, and the Bishop of Amiens. This was peremptorily refused, and she could only express her regret and unavailing desire for peace — for so the conference ended. Meantime, her sickness daily increasing, she earnestly desired to see M. d'Oysell — having, it is supposed, somewhat to communicate to him, which she did not choose to commit to paper—several letters which she had written to him in cipher having been intercepted, and translations into English, word for word, shown to her.[2] Her request for that gentleman to be permitted to come into Edinburgh Castle, that she might speak to him, being refused, she sent a letter by a messenger to Lord Gray, with an entreaty that

[1] Letter from Lethington to Cecil, May 14th, 1560. State Paper MS.
[2] Letter from Mary of Lorraine to d'Oysell. Stevenson's Illustrations. Maitland Club Miscellany.

it might be sent to her apothecary at Leith, being ostensibly an order for medicines. Lord Gray's suspicions were excited by the circumstance of there being only a few lines written at the top of the paper, and an unusual blank space left below. "Drugs," said he, "are abounding in Edinburgh, and fresher than they can be in Leith—there lurks some other mystery here." Then holding the paper to the fire, he perceived some writing to appear; but what it was was never known, for he immediately burnt the letter, and said to the messenger, "Albeit I have been her Secretary, yet tell her Majesty I shall keep her counsel, and say to her such wares will not sell till a new market."[1] With which message, Knox tells us, "she was nothing content."

The last public act of Mary of Lorraine was to issue a summons for a Parliament, to convene July 5th, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of composing the unhappy differences which distracted her daughter's realm, and for the arrangement of an amicable treaty between England, France, and Scotland.[2] Of this there now appeared reasonable hopes, for Queen Elizabeth was getting weary of the unprofitable expense of maintaining a large military force in Scotland, and no less so of the pecuniary disbursements which were constantly required by the Earl of Glencairn and her other North British pensioners.[3] She expected, however, to obtain the restitution of Calais from Francis II. of France, as the price of withdrawing the English fleet and army from Scotland—calculating that the filial tenderness of his consort, the fair young Sovereign of that realm, would induce him to make that or any other sacrifice to relieve her royal mother from the distressing predicament in which she was now placed. Mary of Lorraine had victualled Edinburgh Castle at her own expense; but provisions were running short, and a dreadful scarcity of food prevailed in the district, the English having burned all the mills, and cut off all supplies from foreign countries by the naval blockade in the Firth.

[1] Knox's History of the Reformation.
[2] Keith. [3] Sadler's State Papers.

"We preceive," wrote Cecil from Newcastle, June 8, "that the Queen Dowager is in great peril."[1] During the whole time of the siege she had been wondrous sore vexed with sickness, yet she ceased not continually to send messages to the Lords, to have all matters made up and agreed between them and the Frenchmen.[2] She might truly have said with the royal psalmist, "I labour for peace, but when I speak to them thereof they make them ready for the battle." Yet her spirit rose against the idea of purchasing the repose for which she languished by any sacrifice of her daughter's rights, or the dignity of her realm; she had exacted from the Count de Randan, the French envoy commissioned by her royal son-in-law for the pacification, a promise that he would not enter into any treaty implicating Scotland, unless verbally and in her presence.[3] To herself it really imported little how, or in what manner, the disputes might be settled, for her release from the burden of state she had so wearily borne was at hand. Perceiving that her hours were numbered, she rallied her failing strength to make a final effort for the accomplishment of her long desire of peace. For this purpose she sent an earnest request to the Duke of Châtelherault, and all the nobles then in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, whether friends, rivals, or foes, to attend her for the last time, that she might take her leave of them all. Suspicion was conceived by the Lords of the Congregation that some evil design was premeditated by the royal widow under this touching overture for an exchange of forgiveness, and an especial council was held for the purpose of considering whether they should comply with her request. "After deliberation," says John Knox, "it was thought expedient that they should speak to her, but not all together, lest that some part of the Guisian's practice had lurked under the colour of such friendship." The dying Princess, whom they wronged by these unworthy conjectures, welcomed all those who ventured to obey her summons

[1] Haynes' Burghley Papers—Cecil to the Council.
[2] Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 284.
[3] Haynes' Burghley Papers.

with a burst of generous feeling that moved many of them to tears. She expressed her regret for the miseries of the afflicted realm, and the dissensions which had unhappily contributed to those evils—lamenting that anything in her conduct should have induced them to seek support of any other than their own Sovereign—requesting them to forgive her, as she did them, for all that had been the cause of strife on either side.[1] Then, alluding to her supposed preference of her own country, she did not deny her love for France, but said, with deep emotion, "For my own part, I did ever favour the weal of the realm of Scotland, (as well as France,) by reason I had the honour to be Queen-Regent thereof, and my daughter heritable Queen of the same; and if ever I did or attempted anything which appeared to the nobles contrary to this declaration, I affirm that it has been from lack of wisdom, not for want of love"[2] —meekly adding that, if God would prolong her days, she would amend the same; and if it pleased him to call her to his mercy, she prayed them all most earnestly to return to their duty to the Queen her daughter, their Sovereign, and to dismiss the armies both of France and England, as soon as it could be accomplished. Nor did she omit to point out to them the danger they would incur if they expelled the French and suffered the English to remain —showing them "that the English Government had used them hitherto but as political tools, intending nothing else than the subjugation of Scotland; she greatly feared," she said, "that, if they allowed the English to remain after the departure of the French, they would find them inconvenient guests: therefore she prayed every good Scotchman to have respect to the liberty and welfare of his country." She called to their remembrance "the benefits Scotland had been accustomed to derive from the ancient alliance with France, which," she assured them, "they should find more to their advantage than ever, on account of the tender bond of union which the marriage between the Sovereigns of these realms had knit," beseeching them not to forego the good that might be derivable from that connection. Feel-

[1] Tytler. Lesley. Keith.

[2] Lesley, p. 287.

ing herself exhausted by the length and earnestness of her discourse, she desired to take her final leave of all present, beseeching them with many tears, "to forgive her everything wherein she had displeased them since her arrival in Scotland," and assured them "that she did from her heart pardon all they had done against her."[1] To excuse all they had said must have been a difficult exercise of Christian charity; but, in doing so, Mary of Lorraine proved how greatly they had misrepresented her—for an aggressor rarely forgives. In token that she parted in peace and love with friend and foe, she kissed and embraced the nobles one by one without respect to party, and gave her hand to persons of lower degree, bidding them all farewell with gentle words, and looks full of sweetness.[2] Sterner eyes than hers melted with unwonted softness during this mournful scene. The reformed nobles, anxious for her spiritual weal, entreated her not to rely on the ceremonial observances of her own church, but to send for one of the preachers of the true Evangile. The dying Queen consented to admit Willock, with whom she was personally acquainted, and communed with him a reasonable time. He enlarged on the efficacy of the atonement of a crucified Redeemer, and this the world-weary Queen fully admitted, professing openly her conviction "that there was no salvation but through the death of Jesus Christ."[3] Then Willock descanted on "the vanity and abomination of the mass:"[4] to these observations Mary of Lorraine offered no rejoinder. She became speechless some hours before death;[5] her last articulate words appear to have been her emphatic declaration of her reliance for pardon and acceptance through the atoning

[1] Lesley. Keith. MS. Letters in the State Paper Office.
[2] Tytler's History of Scotland.
[3] Knox. [4] Ibid.
[5] Our authority for this fact is derived from the reports of Cecil and Wharton, to the English Privy Council. "We look hourly to hear of the state of the Queen Dowager; on Saturday she was, as we hear say, speechless. In his postscript he adds, "Ye shall perceive by my good Lord of Norfolk's letter that he is advertised of the Queen Dowager's death. Hereupon will follow sundry alterations."—Haynes' State Papers, June 11, Newcastle.

merits and sacrifice of Christ; "and thus," says Spottiswood, "ended her life most Christianly."

Worn out by the fatigue and sorrow which had aggravated, if not produced, the malady which terminated her existence in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the sixth of her regency, Mary of Lorraine expired in the castle of Edinburgh, between twelve and one o'clock on the morning of the 11th of June.[1] The following day was the anniversary of her arrival in Scotland, and her nuptials with James V., two-and-twenty years before. Mary of Lorraine appointed the Earl Marischal and Sir John Campbell of Lundy executors to her will. Foreseeing that the funereal obsequies prescribed by the ritual of her own church might be denied her in Scotland, she, in order to avoid all cause of strife after her decease, desired to be interred in the Benedictine Abbey, at Rheims, of which her youngest sister, Renée de Lorraine, was abbess; and this caused the delay of several months before her interment could take place. Meantime her lifeless remains were enclosed in lead, and placed in the chapel-royal within Edinburgh Castle[2]—the chapel consecrated to her illustrious predecessor, St Margaret, another Queen of Scotland, who had died like her broken-hearted, but resigned to the will of God, while besieged in that Castle. In the Treasurer's accounts for the month of June there are charges for the lead and "for four door-nails to the Queen's Grace's sepulchre; for twenty-one ells of black gray to hang the chapel of the castle of Edinburgh, the Queen's Grace's body lying therein; also for four ells of white taffateis of the cord, to make ane cross aboun the Queen's Grace."[3]

After these items is a list of the sums paid to the attendants of the deceased Queen, ninety-seven persons, amounting to the sum of £1352, 8s.

Among the instructions given by the three Estates of Scotland to the Prior of St Andrews, August 1560, when proceeding on his mission to Mary and her royal French

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents.
[2] Laing's Appendix to Knox's History of Reformation, vol. ii.
[3] Ibid.

consort, after the death of the unfortunate Queen-Regent, Mary of Lorraine, he was directed "to inquire the pleasure of their Majesties in regard to the solemnisation of the funeral rites of that Princess, also of the Duchess Dowager of Guise, her mother, and her kinsmen of that house—all that was permitted by the present law having been done of the ceremonials pertaining to the elevated rank of the deceased Queen."[1]

Knox, whose comments on the long delayed burial of Mary of Lorraine we need not repeat, being in the like spirit of undying enmity in which all his remarks on her are penned, says that she was kept in the Castle till the 19th of October, and then by pioneers carried on board ship, and so carried to France; but, according to the Diurnal of Occurrents, a still later date may be assigned—namely, the 16th of March 1561, when, attended by her almoner, Mr Archibald Craufurd, the parson of Eiglishame, the remains of this Princess were secretly conveyed at midnight from Edinburgh Castle to a ship at Leith, and thence transported to Fescamp in Normandy, where they lay in state till they had received the duteous tribute of the tears of her royal daughter, Mary Stuart, who assisted at the solemn dirges in that church. After the rite had been performed, the body of Mary of Lorraine was removed to the Benedictine Abbey at Rheims, and there interred with royal pomp in the choir of the church. A fine marble tomb was erected to her memory, adorned with her full-length figure in bronze, royally robed, and holding a sceptre in one hand and the rod of justice in the other. "She was," observes Bishop Lesley, "a noble, wise, and honourable princess and chaste lady, ever well and virtuously employed, keeping her widowhood with great honour. During her time she learned good experience of the nature of Scotland, and inclination of the nobility and people, as ever any king of that realm had, and could apply her as well to their manners and condition; and assuredly, if she had been suffered to have ruled the realm by her own judgment, with the

[1] Portfolio de l'Aubespine, printed in Pièces et Documens Inédits relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse.

counsel of the nobility and wise men of the same, as of her own self she was inclined to do, there had never been controversy nor debate betwixt her and any Scotchmen."

As it may possibly be said that Lesley, although a contemporary, is a partial witness, it is proper to add the testimony of Buchanan, whom no one can accuse of placing the conduct and characteristics of the mother of Mary Stuart in too favourable a light. "Her death," observes he, "variously affected the minds of men, for some of them who fought against her did yet bewail her death, for she was endued with a singular wit, and had also a mind very propense to equity. She had quieted the fiercest Highlanders and the farthest inhabitants of the Isles by her wisdom and valour. Some believed that she would never have had any war with the Scots if she had been left free to her own disposition, for she so accommodated herself to their manners that she seemed able to accomplish all things without force."[1] Holinshed bears testimony to the universal grief and lamentation of the people for her death, and this could not have been the case if she had been the unfeminine monster described by Knox. But the accusations brought by Knox against this Princess are seldom borne out by facts, while they afford abundant proof of the indomitable strength of his prejudice, which neither her forgiveness of those who had offended her, nor her dying appeal for pardon to those whom she had offended, could soften. After relating the pathetic scene of her last farewell to her foes, an incident which, for Christian meekness, has no parallel in history, he records her decease in these words:— "Short thereafter she finished her unhappy life; unhappy we say to Scotland, from the first day she entered it unto the day she departed this life. God, for his great mercy's sake, rid us from the rest of the Guisian blood! Amen, Amen!"[2]

It was unfortunately an epoch when much that the divine precepts of Christianity condemn inflamed the hearts of self-deceiving men, who imagined their own angry passions were emotions of holy zeal. But the fierceness of man was turned eventually to the glory of God, who

[1] History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 269-70. [2] Ibid.

in His own good time accomplished, by means inscrutable to us, the regeneration of the Christian Church in Scotland, when the whirlwind, the earthquake, and the fire, where He was not, had subsided, and the still small voice, that declared His blessed presence, was heard, inspiring faith that works by love, and, like His vivifying Spirit moving on the face of the turbid waters of primeval chaos, dispelled the darkness, brought order out of disorder, and beauty out of that which was shapeless and void.

THE LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS

COUNTESS OF LENNOX

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CHAPTER I.

SUMMARY

Lady Margaret Douglas ancestress to the present Sovereign—Born at Harbottle Castle—Daughter of Queen Margaret Tudor and the Earl of Angus—Wolsey her godfather—She is removed to England—Is with her mother at the Court of Henry VIII.—Returns with the Queen to Scotland—Is seized by her father Lord Angus—Estranged from her mother—Taken by her father into exile—Returns to Dalkeith—Fall of her father's fortunes—Her fugitive life—Suppliant for shelter at Norham—Residence at Berwick—Received by her aunt, the Queen-Duchess—Henry VIII. places Margaret with the Princess Mary—Transferred to the household of Princess Elizabeth—Espouses Lord Thomas Howard—Singular position in the Royal family—Impeachment of her spouse—Both sent to the Tower—Margaret's illness—Queen of Scotland's letter claiming her—Margaret is imprisoned at Sion Abbey—Troubles there—Her letter to Cromwell—She renounces Lord Thomas—His death in the Tower.

STRANGE and sad events connected with the Princesses, who in the sixteenth century represented the younger branches of the English regal line, must occur to the memories of all readers. The names of Margaret Douglas, Jane Gray, Katharine Gray, Margaret Clifford, and Arabella Stuart, are more or less frequently repeated in the pages of general history; but of the persons themselves little indeed is known. Tantalising shadows are these Englishwomen of princely lineage: yet the recital of isolated facts, concerning most of them, has blanched many a cheek, and wrung many a heart. One by one these

Princesses come out of utter darkness into the light of history in some stirring or stormy period, and retire again into the deepest shade. But with the exception of the thrilling tragedy of that illustrious victim, the Lady Jane Gray, the personal annals of these hapless scions of the regal houses of Tudor and Stuart are involved in mystery. Forbidden loves, stolen marriages, incarcerations in the Tower, accusations of treason and magic, are among the records of their lives, which indeed form no unimportant portions of our present undertaking.

The utility of the details of biography for the perfect comprehension of history is in no instance more completely developed than in that of the eldest of these ill-treated kinswomen of the English crown, Lady Margaret Douglas, the mother of Lord Darnley. Like her son, she is a personage of whom much is said and little accurately known. It was under her auspices that the unfortunate boy-husband of Mary Stuart was educated and received his earliest impressions—those impressions which influenced his conduct in the difficult position he subsequently occupied. In relating the personal history of the mother, much that elucidates that of the son will be told—necessary preludes to the biography of Mary Stuart, and, we hope, introduced in a more agreeable form to the reader than either as a sequence or a digressive portion of that Life.

The birth of Lady Margaret Douglas occurred under most disastrous circumstances. Her mother, Queen Margaret Tudor,[1] the eldest sister of Henry VIII., was a fugitive from Scotland—her father the Earl of Angus a proscribed outlaw. Queen Margaret, on her journey over the northern Border, was forced by violent illness to halt at Harbottle Castle, then garrisoned by Lord Dacre, the Lord-Warden of the English Marches. Most unwillingly was the invalid Queen received into the rugged fortress, where nothing was fitting for her distressed condition. The

[1] The previous occurrences of the lives and origin of the parents of Lady Margaret Douglas are not rehearsed here, repetition being in our series of Royal Biographies avoided as much as possible: all these particulars being detailed in the Life of Queen Margaret Tudor, vol. i. of this series.

helpless little Lady Margaret Douglas, three days afterwards, late in the evening on October 7, or early on October 8, 1515, came into a world where she soon found herself, like many others of her sex, very much in her own way, and in that of every one else. As a girl, she was a most unwelcome heir to the fierce and masculine fief of Douglas. As a guest, her presence, poor wailing babe! was equally unwelcome to the stern Lord-Warden Dacre. In a despatch written three days afterwards, that noble describes very naïvely, to the royal uncle of the newly-born stranger, the "unusual cumber" which her mother's arrival had occasioned in the frontier donjon of Harbottle. The epistle,[1] though intended by the hardy warrior as anything rather than comic, can scarcely be read with gravity, when the provoking difficulties of his situation are remembered; for he, his garrison, and the sick Queen, were all in a state of siege by the thronging mosstroopers, the war between England and Scotland having just broken out. And to make his own perplexities the greater, my Lord Dacre had rigorously denied entrance into Harbottle Castle to all Queen Margaret's Scottish female attendants. "On the third day of the Queen your sister's entry into your Grace's realms,"[2] writes Lord Dacre, "she was delivered and brought to bed of a fair young lady, immediately after the date of ours sent last by post unto your Highness."[3] Whether Lord Dacre found some Border soldier's wife in the fortress of Harbottle, capable of nourishing and attending to the bodily wants of the newly-born Princess, he condescends not to explain; but to the little lady's spiritual wants he gave very prompt attention. She was baptised the day after her birth, when, as Lord Dacre especially informs her royal uncle, "everything was done pertaining to her honour, yet only with such convenience as could or

[1] Dacre to Henry VIII.—Historical Letters edited by Sir Henry Ellis, 2d series, vol. ii.

[2] Ibid.—date October 7.

[3] Ibid. He had in that despatch mentioned that Queen Margaret was received into Harbottle Castle, October 5, 1515; it is a little doubtful whether Margaret was born October 7th or 8th.

might be had in this barren and wild district, the suddenness of the occasion ordained by God's providence being considered."[1] Cardinal Wolsey had, by previous arrangement with Queen Margaret, agreed to stand godfather to the infant; and this intention was certainly fulfilled by proxy, as it will be found that, in subsequent distress, the Lady Margaret Douglas claimed his assistance and protection as such.[2] Henry VIII. must have previously desired that his sister's child, if a girl, should be named Margaret, for there was no time for communication with him in the short period intervening between her birth and baptism at Harbottle Castle. There are extant some commemorative verses, by John Philipps, one of the Lady Margaret's old servants, written as if she told the adventures of her own life. In these rhymes, not quoted here for their beauty, but for their contemporaneous antiquity, the author thus mentions his lady and her mother:—

"The king her brother, of love most entire,
At Harbottel Castle her harbour appointed,
Where and in which place (sith to know ye desire)
I was born of my mother, a queen anointed,
And at the Fount stone, as the king appointed,
Margrit I was y-cleped—this is most true,
As you that list in chronicles may view."[3]

The third day after her birth, the little Lady Margaret Douglas was embraced by her young father, the Earl of Angus, who was at that time just nineteen. The inflexible Dacre had only admitted the chief of the line of Douglas, his relatives, and faction, into Harbottle Castle, on condition that he and they signed the first treaty which rendered them the tools of Henry VIII., and traitors to their unhappy country. The despicable act at the same time stained the political integrity of

[1] Dacre to Henry VIII. — Historical Letters edited by Sir Henry Ellis, 2d series, vol. ii.

[2] Strangeways to Wolsey—State Papers, published by Commission, vol. v.

[3] Black-letter Tract—British Museum. The title makes a whole page, commencing, "A Commemoration of the Right Noble Lady Margrit Duglas' good Grace, Countess of Lennox. Printed by John Chalwood: London, 1678."

young Angus, and laid the foundation for his daughter's long troubles. He was, however, extremely proud of the birth of an infant, which made a living tie between him and her powerful uncle, Henry VIII. The royal mother, with her babe, removed at the end of the month from their rude shelter at Harbottle Castle to Lord Dacre's more polished abode at Morpeth. Thither Lord Angus accompanied them, and occasionally visited them from his lurking-place on the Borders. In the succeeding spring, Henry VIII. had invited his brother-in-law Angus to accompany them farther into England, and finally expected the father, mother, and young infant as guests at his court. But, perhaps because he could not bear to be separated from another wife and daughter whom he kept concealed in Ayrshire, and whom he loved better than the imperious sister of King Henry and her little Lady Margaret, Angus decamped the preceding evening into Scotland, deserting his Queen and her babe, who waited for him long—to the great scandal of the English present—at the portal of Morpeth, to begin their southern journey. Our little Margaret was first seen by her uncle Henry on Ascension Day, when he came to meet her mother with a joyous and gallant May festival train of nobles and warriors.[1] The procession of the royal mother with the infant had just left the sylvan palace of Enfield, where they had for three days rested with their whole suite, when the King's train was unexpectedly seen below, glittering through the young foliage of early May.[2] Tottenham Cross was the place where the halt of the Scottish Queen and her babe took place; while Henry VIII. and his brilliant cortege wound up Tottenham Hill, and embellished with groups of historical chivalry that once lovely and lonely spot. Those who object to the Cross as a restored antiquity—although we believe it is a fac-simile—may turn to the well-known frontispiece of Isaac Walton's Angler,

[1] Lodge's Illustrations of English History, vol. i.

[2] May 3d, 1516, according to the calendars of the middle ages; but it was really the more beautiful season of May 12, according to the improved computation, called New Style, now used.

and, banishing the greeting of Walton and his piscatory brother, can people the locality with Henry VIII.'s sister, and our little Lady Margaret in her arms, kneeling to await the approach of the royal cavalier, King Henry. Tottenham Cross was the station where all processions from the northern gates of London, whether royal or civic, met and welcomed illustrious visitors who travelled from Scotland, or sometimes from the eastern coasts of England.

The babe Margaret next made acquaintance in her cradle at Greenwich Palace with another of her royal English relatives, being her cousin-german, the Princess Mary Tudor, born the preceding February 1515-16. Thus early commenced that friendship so important to Margaret Douglas in after life. Mary, the beautiful Dowager Queen of France and Duchess of Suffolk, took the most tender interest in her niece Margaret. As for Henry VIII., his love for her as an infant equalled his tenderness for the Princess Mary; and it was well in after life, when a dependant on his bounty, that the future unscrupulous despot had some affectionate reminiscences of "his niece Marget," as he called her, at the engaging period when the first intelligence of infancy awakens.[1]

When the little Lady Margaret had just completed the eighteenth month of her existence, her mother, Queen Margaret, received intimation from Henry VIII. that it was time to commence her homeward progress to Scotland. The only notice general history takes of the niece of the English King is the erroneous assertion that the Queen of Scotland left her at the court of her brother, and that the infant never saw her mother again, but was brought up in the nursery of her cousin, the Princess Mary. The best authorities are extant for contradicting that misstatement, being letters of her mother,[2] and a judicial examination in the Star Chamber[3] of Alexander Pringle, an old servant of her father.

[1] John Philipps' Commemoration, &c.

[2] State Papers, printed by Commission, vols. iv. v. — Scotch Correspondence.

[3] Haynes' Burghley Papers, 1562.

The calamities of the young Lady Margaret Douglas began actually when she was too young to be conscious of the perplexities in which the dissensions of her parents would involve her life and fortunes. Her father, Lord Angus, met her with her mother at Berwick, and escorted them into Scotland. Margaret's parents, after violent quarrels, separated, and only met to renew scenes of altercation. When the Lady Margaret was little more than three years of age, Angus tore her from her mother's arms, and carried her to his own stronghold of Tantallon, where he formed for her a household suitable to her close connection with the reigning Sovereigns of England and Scotland, made up of ladies of his kin and name—her governess, or first lady, being the wife of his cousin Archibald Douglas.[1] The lady of his brother Sir George Douglas likewise seems to have held office about the person of the infant niece of Henry VIII. The contention regarding the possession of the child had still further embittered the strife of her parents during the stormy years which intervened between their return to Scotland and the second arrival of the Regent Albany in that kingdom. Angus was forced, finally, to retire across the English border. Yet in all his wanderings, and frequent changes of place, he retained possession of his royally connected daughter; for however the divorce which the Queen her mother persisted in suing for might cast a slur on the birth of their child, yet nothing could prevent his girl from being at the same time sister to his own monarch and niece to the powerful Sovereign Henry VIII. So, at all events, he kept fast possession of her, not always, however, for the benefit of the poor child. The Queen her mother—who, by the way, never by any chance mentions her, excepting for the purpose of reproaching the father—has a paragraph in one of her letters,[2] in which, when reviling Angus, she says, "In especial, these three years bypast, not having consideration for our person, which was over piteous and great marvel to report; and after, would not suffer our own daughter to remain

[1] State Papers.

[2] Date Nov. 25, 1524, Edinburgh. Cotton. MS., Calig. B. vii. f. 107.

with us for our comfort, who would not have been *disherest* [disinherited] had she been with us." Thus it is plain that Margaret had not been permitted to see her royal mother since the year 1521, when her father agreed with the Regent Albany to depart into an honourable exile to France. Thither the young Margaret was probably conducted to join her father, by the ladies of the Douglas family, who were her real protectors—although her nominal attendants. No traces of her are to be found in England during her father's sojourn as ambassador in France; and there is some reason to believe he sent for her to join him there.

Margaret's father returned home, when the Regent Albany withdrew finally to France, to trouble his native country, paralyse the government of his fickle spouse, Queen Margaret, and interrupt her wedlock with her new husband, Harry Stuart of Evandale.[1] When Angus had re-established despotic power in Scotland he sent for his daughter the Lady Margaret, hoping that her presence would effectually impede her mother's efforts to effect a legal divorce. This was in 1524–5, when the young lady had entered her tenth year. Katharine of Aragon, the Queen of England, was earnest, both by message and letter, in impressing on her sister-in-law's mind the great sin of disparaging "the fair daughter she had by my Lord Anguish." Poor Katharine had not yet experienced the agony of having her own marriage annulled, and the legitimacy of her only daughter disputed. But Queen Margaret insisted that, as she had married *bonâ fide*, her daughter could not legally suffer for the crimes of the father.[2] Indeed there is a peculiar clause in Queen Margaret's divorce, as pronounced by Archbishop Beton, declaring "that the mother, being innocent of bad faith in the marriage, the daughter ought not to be *disherest*," or disinherited.[3] In such case the mother and daughter

[1] Details of the events here generalised, regarding the divorce of the father and mother of the Lady Margaret Douglas, are fully given in the Life of Queen Margaret Tudor, vol. i. of this series.

[2] State Papers, Letter from Queen Margaret to Wolsey, vol. v., 1528.

[3] Mackenzie's Life of James Beton.

could have made common cause together, as Katharine of Aragon and her daughter Mary Tudor afterwards did in similar troubles. But the young Lady Margaret Douglas had no love for the mother from whom she had been reft in infancy. Having been brought up in a foreign country, under the care of her father's relatives, Angus constantly appearing to her as her only parent, she was taught by her aunt, and her uncle Sir George Douglas, to view the Queen her mother as her worst enemy, only zealous to degrade her and her father's house. Margaret Douglas, therefore, was ready to receive all ill impressions against her mother, as will soon be shown.

A species of diplomatic treaty of peace was agreed upon between the parents of the Lady Margaret, in the spring of 1525, in which their little daughter was to act a part. Her hand was promised by her mother to the Earl of Moray,[1] a personal friend of the Regent Albany, and, after his departure from Scotland, a great partisan of Queen Margaret: he was, indeed, her general. The match would have been a fair one had the Lady Margaret been the daughter of a reigning king of Scotland. It never took place, but rumours of it were often mentioned by Henry VIII.'s resident minister, Dr Magnus.[2] The Earl of Angus, meantime, remained the guardian and custodian of his daughter's person: he likewise defrayed all her expenses. Queen Margaret, in her letters, mentions the occasional withdrawal of her daughter from her society as among the wrongs inflicted by "the Earl of Anguish;" but that she never afforded the least expenditure to the support of the child may be ascertained by her own confession, when she became tardily and uselessly penitent regarding her conduct both as mother and wife.[3] In the chequered life of the Lady Margaret Douglas, the three years of her father's usurped power over the government of Scotland were evidently those in which she seemed to experience the longest gleam of prosperity; yet a bewildering and doubtful prosperity, by no means healthful to the mind of a child

[1] Magnus to Wolsey, Feb. 14, 1524-5—State Papers, vol. iv. p. 324.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. vol. v., Nov. 1542.

from twelve to fourteen. Her father's flatterers and partisans treated her as Princess of Scotland, but deriving from her English birth claims to the regard of the neighbouring kingdom beyond those of her royal brother James V. The inflexibility and hauteur of Margaret's character received its tone at this time.[1]

When the revolution of the summer of 1528 occurred, which placed the reins of government in the hands of her brother James V., and their mother, Queen Margaret, the Lady Margaret Douglas was either sojourning at the stronghold of the Douglases, Tantallon Castle, or she fled thither from Dalkeith with her kindred ladies, whose husbands were all involved in her father's fall. Angus affected to consider the sister and daughter of his enemies James V. and Queen Margaret as included in the proscription with which the former had visited the whole name of Douglas.[2] Fearful that some injury might befal her, King James established along the Scottish border a chain of scouts, offering rewards to any one who would bring his sister in safety to her royal mother, where an establishment befitting her rank was awaiting her.[3] Yet the Lady Margaret clave to the desperate fortunes of her sire, despite of all dangers and deprivations. At this time the prejudice which she felt against her mother amounted to horror. Many strange and wayward freaks were actually perpetrated by that Queen, and many others equally wilful were devised, and left unperformed, as impossible; but in regard to the detestable accusation laid to her charge by her young daughter's ladies, and put into the head of the poor child, it is to be hoped that it was mere scandal. But according to the testimony of an old servant of the Douglas family, Alexander Pringle, Queen Margaret had formed the intention of giving her daughter in marriage to the brother of the man for whom she had herself just divorced the Earl of Angus. He was James Stuart, called the Captain of Doune, a man with whom Queen Margaret's own name

[1] Life of Margaret Tudor, vol. i.
[2] State Papers—Lord Eure to Wolsey, vol. iv., Sept. 1528.
[3] Margaret to Magnus—State Papers, vol. iv. p. 533.

was compromised. No wonder that the poor young girl, only then fourteen, was ready to endure cold, hunger, and all hardships attendant on aimless wandering, rather than run the risk of being consigned to a union so abhorrent. "For which cause," adds Pringle, "the Earl of Angus stole his daughter into England."[1] In fact, when James V. marched forwards with eight thousand men to besiege Tantallon, the Earl of Angus retreated further, and coming to Tweedside, begged refuge for his daughter[2] at Norham Castle. He asked for the accommodation of a chamber for her, one for the wife of Archibald Douglas, and one for himself, September 8, 1528. Norham Castle was not the most comfortable abode in which to bespeak chambers for ladies; for a piteous supplication had been written to Henry VIII. by the castellan Lascelles, a few days previously, declaring that there was not a chamber or room in it fit to shelter any one, for the rain poured through the whole fabric, from the roof to the dungeons. Meantime James V. was occupying the Earl of Angus's castle of Tantallon, and sending detachments of mosstroopers on all sides for the purpose of capturing his sister, the Lady Margaret, and restoring her to the Queen her mother.[3]

Rendered desperate by his divorce from the Queen of Scotland, or rather by the loss of her rich dower-lands of Ettrick Forest, the father of Margaret Douglas, recovering from his first panic, and turning at bay, commenced a predatory warfare on his own Sovereign, in October 1528. Being secretly backed by the English, and openly supported by his own vassals, Angus soon assumed a formidable position, and, as usual in his previous wanderings and reverses of fortune, young Margaret was his companion whersoever he could find for her among their own faithful vassals on the Scottish Marches a tolerable meal and decent shelter; but when battles and skirmishes impended, he lodged her, for security, behind the strong walls of Norham. The young

[1] Haynes' Burghley Papers.
[2] State Papers—Letters of Lascelles, vol. xii. p. 509, Sept. 8, 1528.
[3] Ibid.

lady had need of all the courage of her renowned ancestors to support, as she did most bravely, her occasional vicissitudes in the civil war on the Scottish border, which occurred from Oct. 1528 to May 1529.[1] Once, when her brother James V. was holding assize courts on the border, the Earl of Angus attacked a town, and remained victor in a night skirmish. "The Earl of Angus hath expulsed the Lord Hume and his brother out of Coldinghame, and there doth remain himself," wrote Lascelles to Henry VIII.; "and now the Earl hath sent unto your Grace's castle of Norham the Lady Margaret his daughter, (which he had by the Queen your sister,) who here doth remain until such time as I may know further of your Grace's pleasure." Thus it does not appear that her formidable uncle, Henry VIII., when she occasionally took refuge on his Border, had as yet given her leave to appear at his court, or even to remain in his dominions. During the intermediate period, rumours of the young girl's miseries and deprivations had reached the ears of her mother, Queen Margaret, who recriminated the blame of her own unnatural proceedings on her repudiated husband, Angus, summing up the items of his misconduct in the following letter to Dr Magnus, Nov. 21, 1528:—[2]

"We, for tender love and welfare of the Earl of Anguish and of his house, moved of good mind, *humanit* us to solemnise matrimony with him, trusting that he of his nobility should not have forgot that we for him was exiled from the government of this realm, the most of our goods per force withholden, our houses and possessions alway restrained from our use, and we desolate of remedy. We, not regarding these inconveniences, alway procured the Earl's weal and safety, first in this realm, and hereafter in our dearest brother's realm of England. When it pleased our dearest brother, Henry VIII., to convoy us at great expense into this realm of Scotland again, within short space after the said Earl behaved himself right uncour-

[1] Of which various notices occur in the despatches of Northumberland to Wolsey, from October 9, 1528—State Papers, vol. iv. p. 518.

[2] State Papers, vol. iv. p. 533.

teously to us, and also suffered his friends to do in like manner; and entirely, since that time, he and they have done *perwerse* to our displeasure. In special, these three years past, having no consideration to our person, honour, nor weal, but alway putting all in *gueppart*, [jeopardy,] which were piteous and great marvel to report, and *attouce* [at twice] would not suffer our ane daughter to remain with us to our comfort, who would not have been *dishrest*, [distressed,] she being with us."

Like many other sympathisers, Queen Margaret permitted her daughter's distress to continue unrelieved, only showing her sense of it by reproaching the only friend and protector the forlorn wanderer had in the world. Months wore away, and still the youthful Lady Margaret went with her train of kindred ladies as errant demoiselles, suppliants for food and shelter, from one castle to another on the English border, as the fortunes of her sire fell from bad to worse in his prolonged struggle with the warlike young Majesty he had outraged. England was nominally at peace with Scotland, on which account the Lord-Warden and his satellites affected great reluctance to aid or abet fugitives from the civil war on the Scottish border—rebels to their King's good ally and dearest nephew, the King of Scotland.

Nearly a year had been spent by young Margaret in all the perils and vicissitudes of Border warfare, when one day in the summer of 1529, her father, being reduced to the utmost distress, brought her to Thomas Strangeways, the captain of Berwick, entreating him to admit her into his own house, with her errant train of ladies. The Earl promised to liquidate all expenses, and then left his daughter and her attendants in the charge of the embarrassed commander of Berwick, who was greatly perplexed to know what he should do with them. He had, however, belonged to Cardinal Wolsey's household, and the poor refugee claimed a right to be protected by Wolsey, because she was his god-daughter. Strangeways behaved very kindly to her and her forlorn train, yet he guarded them as if they were prisoners; but the unfortunate Margaret had been so

terribly harassed as a Border fugitive that she declared herself not only contented, but glad, in his custody. Meantime he despatched the Carlisle Herald with the news to his old master Wolsey, craving his orders respecting the young lady who claimed to be his god-daughter, as well as their royal master's niece. Wolsey was himself tottering on his lofty station—he had small power left to protect any one; nevertheless he sent back the Carlisle Herald, charging his old friend, the captain of Berwick, to retain his guest as securely as was consistent with her comfort. Three months passed by, and the Lady Margaret still remained the guest of Captain Strangeways, who thus wrote to Wolsey for further instructions concerning her: "Mr Carlisle the herald[1] hath declared to me that I shall keep still with me, in my house, the Lady Margaret, the daughter of the Earl of Angus; and further, that I should take good heed to be sure of her; but that she might have as much liberty and recreation, and rather more, than she hath had. Please your Grace, even so according to your commandment sent me by the said herald, rightso I have used her before that commandment came to me. I was warned that if I took not good heed, and looked surely to her, she would be stolen and withdrawn into Scotland, which caused me to take more labour for her sure keeping; and yet I know well she was never merrier or more pleased and content than she is now, as she ofttimes repeats. My Lord of Angus, at the first bringing of her to me, desired that I would take her to my house, and he would content me both for her and for her gentlewomen, with such folk as wait upon her daily, or resort to her. And I showed again to my said lord, that forasmuch as I understood that your Grace [Wolsey] was godfather to her, and seeing that my Lord of Angus was not provided with a convenient place for her to be in, I was content to take her, and do her the best service that might lay in my power, till such time as I knew your Grace's pleasure. Since the coming to Berwick of the said herald, I have showed my Lord of Angus that your express commandment to

[1] Strangeways to Wolsey, July 26, 1529—State Papers, vol. iv. p. 567.

me by the said herald was, that I should keep and retain my lady still; wherewith he was very glad, and joyous that your Grace had his in such remembrance. An' it like your Grace, I have had the said lady and her gentlewoman, and a man-servant, with other of her friends and servants, at certain times, and for the most part the Earl of Angus her father, now by the space of three months, without any manner of costs to my said lord or any of them; and what your Grace shall further command me in this matter, or any other, I shall be ready to accomplish the same by the grace of God."[1]

The hapless Lady Margaret might have remained much longer a dependant for her daily bread on the charity of strangers, if womanly feeling had not stirred in the heart of her aunt, the beautiful Mary Tudor, Queen Dowager of France, and wife to Henry VIII.'s favourite, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. She exerted herself for the benefit of her niece, whom she received as her guest some time before the commencement of the New Year of 1530,[2] after which period the homeless Margaret Douglas was placed by Henry VIII. about the person of his daughter, the Princess Mary, who still enjoyed her magnificent establishment at Beaulieu.[3] Here the acquaintance was renewed between the cousins which had commenced in their cradles—and here a friendship was formed by them which was never shaken during the rest of their lives. Young Margaret had the happiness of daily communication with her uncle's Queen, Katharine of Aragon, for the Princess Mary was permitted at this period to pass several months with her royal mother. Margaret was likewise domesticated with her near relative, that noble matron, the Countess of Salisbury; and she shared the attentions of the Princess Mary's governess, the excellent Margaret Bryan. The first notice which occurs of King Henry's attention to his niece is comprised in the following order of "£6, 13s. 4d.—a gift to the Lady Margaret

[1] From Berwick the 26th of July, 1529.
[2] John Philipps' Commemoration, &c.
[3] Ibid. Likewise Mary's Compotus.

Anguish, to disport herself this Christmas."[1] She was with her cousin, the Princess Mary, at the court of her uncle at Greenwich Palace,[2] where Katharine of Aragon for the last time presided as Queen. The King, it is said, showed great affection to his niece, and in the course of the ensuing year, at her entreaty, permitted her father to come to court, where the evidence of the Royal Compotus proves that he made him and his brother, Sir George Douglas, presents of large sums of money. For these benefactions the Lady Margaret Douglas, in after life, took the sole credit; for, loving and faithful as she was to her sire at this period of her existence, she did not spare reproaches subsequently, when he and her uncle George pursued their own selfish interests to her detriment. George Douglas had a present from her uncle, King Henry VIII., of one hundred pounds, the court being then at Waltham.[3] "1531, Dec. 15.—Henry sent to the Earl of Angus [the father of the Lady Margaret,] to be delivered to him at his leaving Greenwich Palace, the sum of £46, 13s. 4d." To the Lady Margaret was given the same Christmas gift as the preceding year, for pastime, meaning playing at cards and other diversions of the season.[4]

The misery and repudiation of Queen Katharine, the disgrace and death of Cardinal Wolsey, the godfather and protector of Lady Margaret Douglas, and the declining health of her tender aunt and patroness, Mary Tudor, the Queen-Duchess, had saddened the time of her sojourn at court, and had darkly shadowed forth future misfortune to her. Lady Salisbury, her near kinswoman, still remained at the head of the Princess Mary's establishment; yet that venerable lady daily expected sorrow and trouble to befal from the new policy and new ministers of the Sovereign. The Lady Margaret, however, found reason to exult in the idea that, in consideration of her being Henry VIII.'s niece, as well as Angus's daughter, her tenderly beloved father was relieved from the woes of poverty by the follow-

[1] Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII., edited by Sir Harris Nicolas.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

ing munificent grant, occurring in 1532:—"Henry VIII. this year settled 1000 merks on the Earl of Angus;"[1] which annuity evidently supplied the sustenance of him and his daughter. She was now enabled to entertain a retinue suitable to her birth, rank, and station at court, as a Princess so closely connected with the regal succession of the Crown. She had a chaplain, who was a Roman Catholic priest, named Charles; a valet, or groom of the chambers, named Peter, wonderfully well skilled in the use of the needle, who was groom of her wardrobe; another man, named Hervey; three maids, who ought to have been ashamed of permitting Peter's workmanship to adorn their lady's gowns; and three grooms, who took care of her stud.[2] No notice occurs of the Lady Margaret's aunt Douglas, of the Lady Archibald Douglas, or any of her Scottish train. Perhaps Henry VIII. did not wish their domestication in the household of his daughter the Princess Mary, the dangerous political atmosphere of which was viewed most inimically by his Privy Council. Although the Earl of Angus was finally one of the supporters of the Reformation in Scotland, he had, without doubt, previously caused his daughter Margaret to be educated in the tenets of the Church of Rome. All her female friends were, moreover, attached members of that faith. At the head of these were Queen Katharine and the Princess Mary, the Countess of Salisbury, and Lady Bryan. The influence of these early associations remained indelibly impressed on the mind of the youthful Margaret, and she continued, through all changes, immovable in her attachment to the creed she had imbibed from them. Coverdale, the venerable reformer, whose testimony cannot be impugned, considered her "more stiff in her Poperies" than her royal cousin, the Princess Mary.

While fortune was frowning day by day darker on the friends and inmates by whom the Lady Margaret Douglas was surrounded at Beaulieu, death in the summer of 1533

[1] Sir H. Nicolas's Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII., p. 294.

[2] Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, where they are all mentioned.

deprived her of her loving aunt, Mary Tudor, the Queen-Duchess—a terrible loss to her and the other ladies of the royal family, since with that gentle spirit fled the only virtuous influence capable of restraining the atrocious passions of Henry VIII. A new and a powerful protectress now arose for the Lady Margaret. The pride of the new Queen, Anne Boleyn, required the attendance of a lady so nearly allied to the blood-royal as the daughter of the King's eldest sister. At the birth of the young Elizabeth,[1] Margaret Douglas was apppointed as her first lady of honour. One little sentence in the Commemoration of the Lady Margaret's old servant, John Philipps,[2] explains that after the death of her kind aunt, the Queen-Duchess of Suffolk, Margaret was placed by the mandate of her uncle Henry VIII. about the person of his daughter Elizabeth. Now Mary, the Queen-Duchess, died at Midsummer Eve 1533, and the Princess Elizabeth was born the succeeding September. Henceforth the Lady Margaret Douglas must be considered the first lady of her cousin Elizabeth, and for three years she was patronised by the prosperous Queen Anne, being introduced to the gaieties of her bustling court, and certainly encouraged by her to form intimacies with the numerous lords and ladies of the ducal family of Norfolk, her new Majesty's first cousins. Mary Howard, the young Duchess of Richmond, and the younger brother of the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Thomas Howard, were soon particular friends of the Lady Margaret Douglas.

The household of the unfortunate Princess Mary being broken up at the succeeding Christmas, and she herself consigned to a humiliating imprisonment in the nursery of her infant sister Elizabeth, she thus became again very speedily domesticated with her cousin Margaret at Hunsdon, Chelsea, Kensington, or Havering Bower, wheresoever the household establishment of the new heiress was ordered for change of air. The Lady Margaret Douglas, against whose legitimacy no whisper had ever arisen in England, was now treated as the superior in rank to the disinherited

[1] John Philipps' Commemoration, &c. [2] Ibid.

Mary, and took place as next in blood to the Princess Elizabeth. She had the good fortune and the good feeling not to offend or irritate her unhappy kinswoman at this terribly trying epoch. From this time the affection of the Princess Mary and her cousin Margaret became indestructibly cemented, and it is to the honour of the latter that she used honourably and gratefully her short-lived season of court favour.

While Queen Anne Boleyn's influence lasted with Henry VIII., there is little doubt that she induced him to view complacently the passionate love that sprang up between her youngest uncle, Lord Thomas Howard, and the Lady Margaret. The affection of the lovers became very fervent at the opening of the year 1536, a period when it was plainly to be seen that evil days were in store for the once prosperous and triumphant beauty Anne Boleyn. A very few words will suffice to narrate the previous history of the first lover or spouse of the Lady Margaret Douglas. Lord Thomas Howard was the eighth child of the late Duke of Norfolk, being his second son by his second wife, Agnes Tilney. The ducal house of Howard was at this epoch somewhat impoverished by its two numerous families of sons and daughters. Among the latter, the Lady Elizabeth Howard, mother of Anne Boleyn, and daughter of the second Howard, Duke of Norfolk, by a former wife, was half-sister of Lord Thomas Howard. But there was a great difference in years, Anne Boleyn's young uncle being an infant when her mother died.[1] The identity of the lover of Margaret Douglas is not very easy to define, because he had a brother likewise baptised Thomas, who was at this time Duke of Norfolk, and also a nephew of a similar name.[2] The noble brothers of the ducal house of Howard were more rich in valour and

[1] The Howard Memorials prove that Anne Boleyn's own mother, Lady Elizabeth, died in her daughter's infancy.

[2] Burke's Peerage. It was a common and unamiable practice of step-mothers to name sons after their husbands, although a former son by a former wife might be in existence. This practice causes great confusion in the genealogies of Paston, Howard, and Seymour.

ability than in this world's goods. One of them, Lord Edmund Howard, although he had turned the fortune of the day for England at Flodden, was even then suffering great hardships and degradation from the united misfortunes of a slender provision, high birth, and a large family. Lord William Howard, the eldest son of the late Duke of Norfolk's family by the second wife, Agnes, who had previously served the Princess Mary as chamberlain, was now sent by Henry VIII. as ambassador to Scotland. Since the spring of 1534 he had been instructed by Queen Anne Boleyn to cultivate sedulously the friendship of Queen Margaret.[1] He succeeded in forming a close intimacy with her, probably in the expectation that his brother Lord Thomas would shortly receive the hand of her daughter, the Lady Margaret Douglas. The lovers came to Westminster Palace early in the year 1535-6, where, as attached to the Court, they had apartments and official duties. Both must have been conscious that the Queen, Anne Boleyn, was near her fall, and that her relatives of the house of Howard would lose her powerful support; therefore they determined to form indissoluble bonds, lest the caprice of Lady Margaret's royal uncle should forbid the union he had previously encouraged. Unfortunately, the only notice existing of the romantic love-plight of the niece of King Henry VIII. and the young uncle of Queen Anne Boleyn is comprised in the stern record of the statutes of the realm. However, the time and place are therein satisfactorily pointed out as being when the King was residing at his palace of Westminster to meet his Parliament for the despatch of business. When under the very roof of Majesty, the Lord Thomas Howard obtained the consent of Lady Margaret Douglas to contract marriage. It is evident, however, that the private marriage, or solemn betrothal, of Margaret and Lord Thomas took place before the prorogation of Parliament, which did not sit again until near Midsummer.

After her stolen nuptials the Lady Margaret occupied a most curious position in regard to the succession of the

[1] State Papers, vol. v.

Crown of England, and to the royal family of England. She was spouse to Anne Boleyn's uncle, therefore she was aunt to the Queen, and at the same time niece to the King, Henry VIII. It was doubtful whether she could be considered a Scotchwoman, although her father, the Earl of Angus, was one of the greatest magnates of that land, and her brother, James V., was the reigning Sovereign, while her mother was Queen-mother of Scotland and Princess-royal of England. She occupied apparently a nearer place in the succession to the English crown, owing to the accident of being born on the southern side of the Border. Yet, with all these high claims, she remained a poor pensioner on her royal uncle's capricious "bounties of an hour," and had no higher rank at his court than her situation in the household of his daughter Elizabeth gave her. With both parents living, she was residing at Anne Boleyn's court in orphan loneliness—the disjointed link of a broken family chain, which no earthly power could ever unite again.

The Court followed Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn to Greenwich Palace, after he had prorogued his Parliament. The terrible tragedy of that Queen commenced with the Mayday festivals. The Lady Margaret was apparently at the palace of the young Princess Elizabeth at Hunsdon, where the child certainly remained during the trial, divorce, and slaughter of the poor Queen.[1] Indeed, there is no trace or mention of the Lady Margaret at Court after her residence there in Westminster Palace in the spring.

A singular alteration in the position the Lady Margaret occupied in the royal family was made unwittingly by Henry VIII. and his obsequious Parliament, when it met after the death of poor Anne Boleyn, June 8th, 1536. Among other wickednesses, the King chose that his good lieges, spiritual and temporal, should declare his infant daughter Elizabeth illegitimate, placing her on the same footing with his daughter Mary, previously disinherited, but in a less disastrous state, because his

[1] Letter of Lady Margaret Bryan to Cromwell.

unnatural jealousy had not impugned the fair fame of Mary's mother. The Parliamentary iniquity regarding the daughters of Henry VIII., declaring both illegitimate, was perpetrated about Midsummer 1536; and although it settled the succession firmly on the offspring of the newly-married Queen, Jane Seymour, yet, as that offspring was neither born nor expected very soon, in what position did this fine act of Parliament place the royal succession of England? Why, truly, by disinheriting the King's two children it advanced the King's niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas, as the nearest relative of the blood-royal actually in England, naturalised and received as a denizen of the realm! Neither the Privy Council nor all the other satellites of the Star Chamber, nor Henry VIII. himself, had had the wit to perceive the exaltation the recent act had given to the friendless Lady Margaret, until after it was passed, or they would have introduced some clause therein to her disparagement. She was engaged, with the King's consent, to a high-spirited but penniless younger brother of the most warlike and sagacious family in the realm, of the highest rank next to the Crown, and allied in blood to the Crown. And the Lady Margaret was (unless some impeachment could be contrived against her) to hold proudly her lofty rank as first lady of the blood-royal in England, and presumptive heiress of the Crown, until the uncertain time when the new Queen might produce a son. The state of the royal temper was doubtless terrific, while Cromwell, Wriothesley, and Audley were devising some contrivance to mend the fracture which their awkward diplomacy had torn in the royal succession. The unfortunate young couple, Lady Margaret and Lord Thomas, had violated no existing law: they could plead, and did plead, Henry VIII.'s own consent for their love.[1] If any law in the Statute Book objected to the marriages of Queen Dowagers of England, or Princesses, it was rather with a feudal reference in regard to the lands they held of the Crown; but poor Margaret Douglas was guiltless of any such ownership.

[1] Letter of Queen Margaret Tudor—State Paper Office.

Some time in July[1] the English people, who had been appalled by the blood of the King's wife recently shed on the scaffold, saw, as if a sequel to the tragedy, that Queen's uncle, Lord Thomas Howard, and the King's niece, carried captives to the Tower, and immured in separate prisons, under the heinous charge of compassing treason against the King, by taking each other for man and wife. As they could not be convicted of breaking any law extant in once-free England, the contemptible Parliament proceeded to molest the offenders by petitioning the King to punish Lord Thomas Howard—such being one of the earliest of those notorious impeachments by which Henry VIII. and his Parliaments committed, in concert, so many astounding tyrannies.

The impeachment of the unfortunate lover is certainly not a "soft impeachment"—for it is harsh, and even abusive. Nevertheless the statutes at large, containing many an odd passage, cannot show a more remarkable document, expressing as it does the reasons of the collective wisdom of England for taking care of their helpless and meek sovereign lord, Henry VIII., against the ferocious treasons indicated by the love-plight of his young niece Margaret and her betrothed. The precise date is not stated, but it took place between June 8th and the commencement of August 1536; for in the latter month the news had actually reached Queen Margaret in Scotland that her brother had imprisoned her unfortunate Margaret in the Tower of London, and was about to exercise his new propensity for woman-murder on his niece.

The words of the impeachment, (which was of course not promulgated until both captives were caged safely in the Tower,) set forth, "That the Lord Thomas Howard,[2] brother to Thomas, now Duke of Norfolk; being led and seduced by the Devil, not having God afore his eyes, nor regarding his duty of allegiance that he oweth to have

[1] The Parliament recommenced its session (after prorogation at Easter) June 8, 1536. Seventeen acts occur between the remarkable act which disinherited Elizabeth, and this not less strange one, which attainted Thomas Howard.

[2] Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. p. 610.

borne the King, our and his most dread Sovereign Lord, hath lately, within the King's own court and mansion-palace at Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, (his Majesty there being for affairs of his Parliament,) without the knowledge or assent of our said most dread Sovereign Lord the King, contemptuously and traitorously contracted himself by crafty, fair, and flattering words to and with the Lady Margaret Douglas, being *natural*[1] daughter to the Queen of Scots, eldest sister to our said Sovereign Lord, by the which it is vehemently to be suspected that the said Lord Thomas falsely, craftily, and traitorously, hath imagined and compassed—that in case our said Sovereign Lord should die without heirs of his body, (which God defend!) then that the said Lord Thomas, by reason of marriage in so high a blood, and to one such which pretendeth to be lawful daughter to the said Queen of Scots, eldest sister of our said Sovereign Lord, should aspire by her to the imperial crown of this realm, or at the least making division for the same. By all likelihoods, having a firm hope and trust that the subjects of this realm would incline and bear affection to the said Lady Margaret Douglas, *being born in this realm, and not* to the King of Scots her brother, to whom this realm hath nor ever had any affection, but would resist his attempt to the crown of this realm to the uttermost of their powers." Here the regnal jealousy of Henry VIII., glancing beyond the immediate objects of his wrath, makes a protest against the succession of his next male heir, James V., in an actual enactment of statute law. It had been recollected when too late that Henry VIII., by the recent act disinheriting his own children, Mary and Elizabeth, had either placed the English-born Margaret Douglas in proximity to the Crown, or her brother, the warlike and active young Sovereign of Scotland, James V., as his next heir. The extreme art with which the claims of his nephew on the regal succession were impugned in an act of Parliament, so obscure that it has escaped notice, is not the least remarkable feature of this extraordinary document, which is meant by one

[1] The expression merely means *own daughter.*

blow to destroy the whole pretensions of the line of his eldest sister to the English throne,[1] break the marriage of his niece Margaret Douglas, and declare her illegitimate, although Henry VIII. had previously upheld the Earl of Angus as his rightful brother-in-law, and held out for the lawfulness of his wedlock with his sister Queen Margaret. But when his purposes are to be served by it, behold how the false despot turns against all his previous assertions and protestations, and reduces his niece to the same degradation as his own daughters!

"And for the more likelihood[2] and vehement suspicion of the same traitorous intent, the Queen of Scots, [*his sister Margaret Tudor*,] as it hath lately been hinted and spoken, and come to the King's knowledge, hath coveted to come into this realm,[3] to be restored and reconciled to the Earl *Douglas* [Angus] her late husband, father to the said Lady Margaret [Douglas,] from whom she hath been long *divorced by the laws of the Church*, minding by the same by all vehement presumption and likelihood to advance the said Lord Thomas Howard and the said Lady Margaret into the favour of this realm, by reason whereof the traitorous intent of the said Lord Thomas might be the sooner brought to pass." All which were merely vehement suspicions, for the very recital of the document fully proves that the unfortunate brother of the Duke of Norfolk roused the regnal jealousy of the tyrant before any law was made against his wooing and wedding the fair Margaret as niece of the King; yet did this slavish and corrupt Parliament, "spiritual, temporal, and Commons," petition Henry VIII., and, according to their own words, make "humble intercession" that the said offence shall be judged and deemed high treason, and that Thomas Howard might be attainted of high treason, and suffer such pains and execution of death to all intents and purposes as in cases of high treason."[4]

[1] It was a curious forerunner of Henry VIII.'s will.

[2] Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii.

[3] It may be remembered in the Life of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scotland, how frequently at this date she invites herself to come and *vesy* or see her brother.

[4] Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. p. 680.

The original act has been much interlined and added to by the King's order, and, as supposed, by his own hand. His royal assent is entered on the enrolment as a private act of Parliament, with the usual formula of impeachment by petition, "*Soit fait comme il est desiré*"—(Let it be as it is desired.)[1]

As soon as the unfortunate spouse of poor Lady Margaret had been loaded with this sentence of treason, without trial or opportunity for defence, the legislature proceeded to pass another statute, making it high treason for any one to marry or seduce any lady related to the blood-royal, declaring that if such offenders "shall marry or take to wife any of the King's children, (being lawfully born or otherwise, or commonly reputed for his children,) or any of the King's sisters or aunts of the part of his father, or any the lawful children of the King's brothers or sisters (not being married) without consent from the King under the Great Seal, or to seduce any not being married, shall be deemed a traitor to the King and his realm, and with his abettors shall suffer the pains and execution of death, loss of privilege and sanctuary, and forfeitures of lands and hereditaments to all intents as in cases of high treason."[2] The act did not stop after levelling its thunders at poor Lord Thomas; there was a schedule compounded for the especial castigation of the loving Lady Margaret—to wit, "And be it enacted,[3] that the WOMAN (after the last day of this Parliament) so offending, being within the degrees before specified, shall incur like danger and penalty as is before *limited* [defined,] and shall suffer such-like death and punishment as appointed to the MAN offending."

No surprise can be excited at the fact that the hapless Lady Margaret Douglas forthwith fell sick with grief and terror in the Tower. There is reason to believe that she was confined in an ancient building with pointed gables and broad platform-balcony, then, as now, occupied by the Lieutenant of the Tower: if so, the very spot where her late aunt the wretched Queen Anne Boleyn's blood had scorched

[1] Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. p. 680.
[2] Statutes, Henry VIII., 1536, June, p. 680–1. [3] Ibid. p. 681.

the surrounding grass on the enclosure before her was constantly visible beneath her very eyes. The square mark where her scaffold formerly stood is visible even now, although the grass has been destroyed and paved stones have replaced it. But in July 1536 the sanguine stains were certainly not obliterated, and must have been glaringly apparent to the terrified gaze of the poor prisoner. So very ill Lady Margaret did become that her cruel uncle was forced to send his own "potticarry," Master Thomas Aske, with certain medicines for her use, and then his physician, Dr Cromer. "And the said potticarry and the doctor employed for the relief and conservation of the Lady Margaret Douglas, (during the time of her being in the Tower of London, and afterwards,) made her take medicines to the amount of £14, 6s. 4d.,"[1] which long bill her uncle had to pay, besides other fees, to Dr Cromer.

At last the news of her daughter's cruel treatment reached Queen Margaret in Scotland, at Perth, and high her indignation blazed. No doubt she had been duly informed of the impertinent mention which had been made of her own sisterly wish to *vesy* the King her brother, and the suspicions expressed by his faithful Commons that her object was to place her daughter, and her daughter's lover, on the English throne. To nullify such unjust assertions, she demanded, with a high hand, the restoration of her Margaret to her right owners. Altogether, the letter is the best the Queen of Scotland ever wrote; and it assuredly made a seasonable diversion in favour of her oppressed child.

"QUEEN MARGARET TO HENRY VIII.[2]

"Dearest brother, in our most heartly manner we recommend us to your Grace.

"Please you understand we are informed lately that our daughter, Margaret Douglas, should, by your Grace's advice, promise to marry Lord Thomas Howard; and that your Grace is displeased that she should promise or desire sic [such] thing; and that your Grace has delivered to punish [ment] my said daughter, and your near cousin, to extreme rigour; which we can no way believe, considering that she is our natural daughter, your

[1] Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII., quoted from the Book of Payments by Sir Harris Nicolas.

[2] State Papers, vol. v. p. 58.

nepotess, and sister-natural to the King our dearest son, your nephew, who will not *belief* that your Grace will do sic extremity upon your own, ours, and his, being so tender to all three as our natural daughter is.

"Dearest brother, we beseech your Grace, of sisterly kindness, to have compassions and pity of us, your sister, and of our natural daughter and sister to the King your dearest nephew; and to grant our said daughter Margaret your pardon and favour, and remit of sic as your Grace has laid to her charge. An' gif it please your Grace to be content she come into Scotland, so that in time coming she shall never come into your Grace's presence; and this, dearest brother, we, in our most heartily effectious tender manner *beseeches* your Grace to do, as we doubt not your wisdom will think to your honour, since our request is dear and tender *tyll* us, the gentlewoman's natural mother, and we, your natural sister, that makes this piteous and most humble request.

"Further, please your Grace, this bearer will inform, and the eternal God conserve your Grace, as we would be ourself.

"Written at Perth this 12th day of August, by your Grace's most loving *systyr*, "MARGARET R."

The learned editor of this letter supposes that Queen Margaret Tudor has, by an error of her pen, meant to say, instead of "by your Grace's advice," as quoted, it should stand, "that against his advice Margaret had promised to marry Lord Thomas Howard," being the exact contrary to the sense she expresses. With this view, after examining the whole tenor of the antecedent and subsequent events, we cannot agree. It is the belief of the author that the royal mother meant to express the fact which her words declare—it being in entire coincidence with the caprice, the deceit, and the utter falsehood of her brother's character and conduct. The Queen means simply to charge him with the base part he certainly played, of first encouraging the unfortunate young people to plight their faith to each other, and then tormenting them for so doing when his whims took a different direction. Of course they did so when Anne Boleyn was destroyed by his cruelty; and especially when he made the notable discovery that his clumsy and tyrannical legislation, in disinheriting his own children, had advanced his niece Margaret, and her spouse, one of the ambitious Howards, several steps nearer to the throne than her natural place in the succession.

Lady Margaret received no immediate benefit from her mother's urgent letter. Of course Henry VIII. would not

suffer her removal to Scotland, lest some dangerous use might be made of her proximity to the Crown. So the poor girl continued to languish in her terrific abode until an alarming return of her illness, which was of the intermittent fever species, together with sundry reproachful missives from his sister, the Queen of Scotland, obliged the King, for very shame, to order his niece's removal from his state prison. It was not, however, until November commenced that he consented to the change. The place to which he destined the unhappy Lady Margaret was the once magnificent abbey of Sion, on the banks of the Thames, near Isleworth, by no means a healthful locality for an aguish patient. Sion Abbey had hitherto been spared from the general ruin with which Henry VIII. was then devastating all monastic establishments. The courtly compliance of its abbess, Agnes Jourdan, in acknowledging *his* supremacy, and likewise the extreme convenience of the convent as a prison for his female rebels, delayed its entire desecration for some years. When Cromwell signified to Abbess Agnes that it was the King's pleasure to place his niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas, under her care, the lady of Sion thus testified her obedience :—[1]

As touching the Lady Margaret Douglas, I shall be ready and glad to receive her to such lodging, walks, and *commodities* [conveniences] as be or may be to her comfort, and our Prince's [Henry VIII.'s] pleasure, in our precinct. And what service and pleasure shall be in us to do unto her, we shall be ever ready to do at the will of our said gracious lord, to be opened unto us by your lordship's certificate, and that both for now and hereafter, with all our powers.

"Yet I would require of your good lordship that some person, such as you do trust and think apt, may come and see such lodging and walks as be with us, and to judge which be most convenient for the purpose. And thereupon all things to the best of my power shall be ordered and directed by the help and grace of our Lord Jesu, who ever bless and defend you, bodily and ghostly, to His most merciful pleasure.

"From Sion, the 6th day of November, by your most bounden bedewoman and daily oratress,

"AGNES, Abbess."

Endorsed—"To the Right Honourable and always our most assured good lord, my Lord of the Privy Seal, be these delivered with speed."

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[1] State Paper Office—Domestic Records.

The Lady Margaret Douglas, as soon as these arrangements had been approved for her by Lord Privy Seal Cromwell, took possession, sick and sad at heart, of apartments in Sion Abbey, and of its wintry garden walks by the side of the Thames. But small portions of the ancient convent now remain, once possessed by the sisters of the austere rule of St Bridget, or St Bride, the royal northern saint. The works of the Creator are usually more enduring than those of destructive man; and even now, some ancient wide-spreading mulberry trees still exist in luxuriant beauty within the garden bounds, although their tortuous limbs are braced together by sustaining iron bands. The local tradition of Sion points these venerable trees out as coeval with the abbey. Under the bowering shades of these old mulberry trees the then love-lorn Lady Margaret walked when spring was renewing their verdure, and thought on Lord Thomas Howard, languishing even unto death with illness in the dire fortress to the east of the intervening city.

In the course of the Lady Margaret's residence at Sion she disagreed with Abbess Agnes. Complaints were forwarded by the Abbess to her patron Cromwell, of the outlay to which the convent was subjected, together with the waste of revenue and provisions, owing to the consumption of the numerous train of visitors which resorted to the Lady Margaret Douglas. Likewise the number of her servants gave offence and inconvenience. Certainly the lady's own domestics were not very meet for conventual shades: her attendants were all men, or perhaps she only enumerated them as explanatory to Cromwell's objections. They were—a gentleman that kept or guarded her chamber, probably a gentleman-usher, and a gentleman and groom that had the charge of her wardrobe, being, no doubt, her male embroiderer and tailor, Peter. Her chaplain, who had always resided with her when she was at Court, had followed her to Sion. But the superabundance of gentleman-retainers entertained by the fair prisoner at Sion, it seems, arose from another cause than her need for their attendance. The former servants of her unfortunate lover,

Lord Thomas Howard, had been starving since the incarceration of their master; they came lamenting to the Lady Margaret, who forthwith took them into her immediate service, as there was, she found, plenty to feed them with from the remains of the dishes which the Abbess Agnes was bound to provide for her table. Tales were told to Cromwell, no doubt, by the Abbess, of the imprudence which the Lady Margaret had committed in receiving these distressed dependants of her hapless lover; moreover, insinuations were made that she did so for the express purpose of carrying on a correspondence with him. Cromwell wrote immediately, by the orders of the King, a severe rating to the Lady Margaret. In his letter he recapitulated the charges which had been brought against her. It seems, however, that he concluded by promising her the King's favour, on condition of giving up her betrothed. To him the poor prisoner at Sion wrote the following reply: and by it she is evidently desirous of testifying that she was quite willing to resign her lover, if she might be restored to favour at Court. As to the charges brought against her, she answers them with much appearance of frankness. In conclusion, she takes the opportunity of averring that she is not a married woman; and altogether, it is very clearly to be seen that she would rather lose Lord Thomas than remain the thrall of Abbess Agnes.

THE LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS TO LORD CROMWELL.[1]

"MY LORD,—What cause have I to give you thanks, and how much bound I am unto you, that by your means hath gotten me, as I trust, the King's grace and favour again! Besides that it pleaseth you to write and give me knowledge wherein I might earn his Grace's displeasure again, which I pray unto the Lord to sooner send me death than that. I assure you, my lord, I will never do that thing willingly that should offend his Grace.

"And, my lord, whereas it is informed you that I do charge the house [Sion] with greater numbers than is convenient, I assure you that I have but two more than I had at the Court, which two were indeed Lord Thomas's servants. The cause I took them for was for the poverty I saw them in, and for no cause else. But seeing, my lord, that it is your pleasure that I shall keep none that did belong to my Lord Thomas, I will put them from me. And I beseech you not to think that any fancy doth

[1] Cott. MS., Vesp. F. xiii. holograph.

remain in me *touching him*, [regarding him,] but that all my study and care is how to please the King's Grace and to continue in his favour.

"And, my lord, whereas it is your pleasure that I shall keep but few here with me, I trust you will think that I can have no fewer than I have; for I have but a gentleman and a groom that keeps my apparel, and another that keeps my chamber, and a chaplain that was with me always in the Court.

"Now, my lord, I beseech you that I may know your pleasure, if you would that I should keep fewer. Howbeit, my lord, my servants have put the house to small charge, for they have nothing but the reversion of my board [table,] nor do I call for nothing but that which is given me—howbeit, I am very well entreated.

"And, my lord, as for resort, I promise you I have none, except it be gentlemen that cometh to see me, nor never had sin' I came hither. If any resort of men had come, it would neither have become me to have seen them nor have kept them company, being a maid as I am.

"Now, my lord, I beseech you to be so good as to get my poor servants their wages; and thus I pray our Lord to preserve you, both soul and body.

"By her that has her trust in you,

"MARGARET DOUGLAS."

Soon after the birth of Prince Edward, the long-desired son of her uncle Henry VIII., Lady Margaret Douglas was released from bondage—and not till then. Her mother, Queen Margaret, mentioned that she heard her daughter was at liberty, in a letter dated October 30, 1537, and "that it was a comfort to hear she was out of the Tower."[1] The distance rendered the minutiæ of the case imperfectly known to Queen Margaret, or she would have been aware that the Tower had not been the place of her daughter's imprisonment for nearly a twelvemonth. The hapless lover, Lord Thomas Howard, was not so fortunate: he had suffered in his hard durance in the Tower blighted affections, want of exercise, and slow decay from pining. The intermittent fever aided all these dolorous enemies to life, and he expired Oct. 31, 1537. His memory was dear to his nephew, the Earl of Surrey, who attributes his decline and death entirely to the force of love—a supposition very consistent with the fervid imagination of a poet. Surrey "of the gifted lyre" would have deemed it a worse treason of Lord Thomas to die of any other malady than if he had really committed the long list of crimes laid to his charge in the Statute Book. He says—

[1] Lord Herbert of Cherbury, vol. ii. p. 212, (Perf. Hist.)

"For you yourself doth know,
It is not long ago,
Sith for his love one of our race
Did end his life in woe.
In Tower both strong and high,
For his assured truth,
Wherein with tears he spent his breath,
Alas, the more the ruth!"[1]

The near relationship of the noble poet to the deceased gives weight to his lyrical assertions in other matters concerning his uncle. Lord Thomas Howard would not, according to Surrey's version, give up his lady-love, although it has been shown under her own hand that she gave up him after a much shorter period of imprisonment. Howsoever this may be, perhaps less romantic evidence than the noble poet Surrey might lead to the verdict—"Died of intermittent fever, contracted during close confinement in the Tower of London, and aggravated by want of air and exercise."

The sorrowful mother of Lord Thomas Howard, Agnes, Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, humbly petitioned the King for liberty to bury the body of the hapless prisoner. Edward Seymour, newly entitled Earl of Hertford, brother of the triumphant Queen, Jane Seymour, wrote, by the command of Henry VIII., the following unfeeling note on his decease:—

LORD HERTFORD TO LORD PRIVY-SEAL CROMWELL.[2]

"MY LORD,—I have showed the King's highness of my Lord Thomas' death, as Master Wriothsley desired me, as also my lady his mother's request for the burying of him.

"His Grace is content she hath him according to your advice, so that she bury him without pomp.

"Your Lordship's loving friend,

"HERTFORD."

The Duchess Dowager of Norfolk buried her son so privately that no notation exists of the place of his interment.

[1] Lord Surrey's Poems.
[2] State Paper Office—Miscellaneous Letters.

THE LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS

COUNTESS OF LENNOX.

CHAPTER II.

SUMMARY

Lady Margaret reappears at her uncle's court — At the funeral of Queen Jane — Resides at Beaulieu with the Princess Mary — Appointed first lady to Anne of Cleves — Her reception of that Queen — Retains her place with Queen Katharine Howard — Her apartments at Hampton Court—Courtship with the Queen's brother, Charles—Again imprisoned at Sion—Dismissed to Kenninghall—Death of her mother, Queen Margaret—Her father leaves England—Scotch suitors of Lady Margaret—Jewels given her by the Princess Mary—Marriage of Lady Margaret with the Earl of Lennox—He quits her to invade Scotland—Birth and death of her eldest son—Her residence at Temple Newsome—Birth there of her son, Lord Darnley—Lady Margaret is in disgrace with Henry VIII. — She is excluded from his will — Her husband leads the English invaders into Scotland—Her father writes to her—She receives his relatives as guests—Education of her son, Darnley—She goes to see her father—Is denied admittance — Death of her young brothers — Her father's desire to see her and her son—Her angry letter—Her father's message to her by the falconer — Her influence with the Earl of Westmoreland—Attends the Scottish Queen-Regent in London.

THE united influences of life and death drew the Lady Margaret from obscurity, and she was recalled to her royal uncle's Court. The birth of a son to Henry VIII. had removed his niece from the perilous position, in regard to the regal succession, in which that jealous despot had unwittingly placed her by the stigma he and his servile Parliament had cast upon the legitimacy of his daughters by Katharine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn. The first reappearance of the unfortunate Margaret in the world, after

her imprisonment, sickness, and sorrow, was, by a refinement in cruelty on the part of her royal uncle, ordained to take place under circumstances very trying to her feelings. Lord Thomas Howard had been dead only four days when she, his widow, or who, at any rate, was marshalled to her place in the pompous funeral procession of the deceased Queen, by his name, "as the Lady Margaret Howard, the King's niece,"[1] was required to array herself in sable weeds, but not for him. Her mourning was not of the form and material which beseemed her recent widowhood, but such as the Lord Chamberlain's order prescribed to the great ladies assisting as mourners at the burial rite of the late Queen. Instead of complying with the rigorous etiquette which made widows of princely rank shroud themselves from every eye, in the close retirement of a chamber, from which the light of heaven was carefully excluded, till after the obsequies of a defunct husband, or betrothed lover, had been solemnised, poor Margaret was compelled to mount a palfrey, trapped with long trailing black housings, led by her squire or gentleman in a demi-gown of black, and take her place next to the Princess Mary in the long funeral procession of the Queen of England, which extended almost from Hampton Court to Windsor Castle. Directly afterwards followed the Lady Frances, her cousin, eldest daughter of her kind aunt the late Queen Dowager of France, being married to Henry Gray, Marquis of Dorset, and already mother to one promising infant, the name-child of the deceased Queen. In many a courtly ceremonial procession, whether in solemn black or in glittering robes, did these two cousins afterwards bear their part together. Strange scenes they witnessed, and stranger still were the variety of woes in store for their descendants, who were destined by party diplomacy, even

[1] Leland's Collectanea. Herald's Journal—Funeral Ceremony of Queen Jane Seymour. As the second wife of Lord William Howard, the Princess Mary's chamberlain, is likewise termed in the documents the Lady Margaret Howard—her birth-name being Margaret Gamage—it is sometimes difficult to define which lady is meant. But when the distinguishing description of the King's niece is added, as in the present instance, no doubt can exist.

in their cradles, to head rival parties in politics and religion. Doubtless Lady Margaret would have preferred weeping the fate of her lost lover alone, in widow's weeds, in some secluded nook of Hampton Court or Hunsdon, to the unseemly mockery of performing the uncongenial part in a state ceremonial of a pageant mourner for the rival and foe of her murdered friend and patroness, Anne Boleyn—perchance, too, an enemy of her own, and the cause of her late sufferings, and those of the man she loved.

The conflicting pangs of grief, shame, and wounded pride that agitated the bosom of the unhappy Margaret, on that occasion, must have been of no ordinary bitterness. One luxury, however, she could enjoy—it was a funeral; and she was free to weep, and no one durst chide her tears. The welcome time of retirement at length arrived, and she was once more settled at Hunsdon, or Beaulieu, with her friend the Princess Mary, and her little charge the Princess Elizabeth. Her uncle, however, graciously resolved that his niece should not cherish any pride in the fact that her birth was more honourable than that of the daughters whom he had taken such pains to humble. Lord William Howard was therefore despatched on an embassy to Scotland, receiving secretly the King's commands to collect all possible evidence regarding the legality of the Queen his sister's marriage with the Lady Margaret's father. The discreet ambassador knew his cue well: he was the brother of the deceased Lord Thomas; and it was not safe to report anything but what he knew would be agreeable to the King; therefore Lord William, on his return from Scotland, communicated to his royal master, "That, from all he could gather there, the marriage between the Lady Margaret's father and his Majesty's sister, Queen Margaret, was not a lawful one." His gracious master then bade him take the opportunity of telling his eldest daughter, the Princess Mary, that her cousin Margaret was illegitimate; "and this," adds our informant,[1] "it is well known that Lord William did, for which he had every opportunity, as he was the Princess

1 Three Conferences regarding the English succession, printed in 1594 by Dolman.

Mary's chamberlain."[1] The three cousins of royal blood, domesticated together at Hunsdon, were thus all in a similar predicament, neither being in any degree qualified to look down on the other. Lady Margaret was at Beaulieu in June 1538, when a payment was made for money laid out for the Princess Mary by her, to the amount of twenty shillings. The three cousins were all at Westminster Palace at the Christmas of the same year, when the Lady Margaret's chaplain Charles was given by the Princess Mary a New-Year's gift of a mark, and the same to her man Harvey; likewise, eight shillings and sixpence to her two grooms.[2] Lady Margaret laid a wager of a frontlet, or ornamental border, to a hood-cap, and won it from her cousin, the Princess Mary. An outlay of twenty shillings[3] is charged in the Compotus for the same. In the course of a few months the marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne of Cleves opened for his niece a prospect more agreeable to her time of life than domestication in the nursery palace of Hunsdon. The Lady Margaret received the splendid appointment of first lady to the new Queen, in which capacity she, assisted by her cousin the Lady Frances, Marchioness of Dorset, heading a company of eighty-five court ladies, received Anne of Cleves at the "tents of cloth-of-gold" prepared for her Majesty on Blackheath, near the Cross,[4] which was on the mound where a group of small fir-trees now present themselves to the eye, close to the high-road. The royal bride alighted from her chariot, kissed the Lady Margaret and the Lady Frances, her new nieces, and all the other ladies were presented to her. Lady Margaret performed the honours of the bridal reception in the cloth-of-gold tents, as first English lady, her cousin the Princess Mary not being present. Lady Margaret was likewise first in the equestrian procession which followed Henry VIII. and his bride from Blackheath Cross to Greenwich Palace.[5]

[1] The information is correct that Lord William Howard was chamberlain to the Princess Mary whensoever she had an establishment, as, from 1537, his name appears in almost every page of her journal of expenses.
[2] Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, edited by Sir F. Madden.
[3] Ibid. [4] Hall's Chronicle. [5] Ibid.

After Henry's divorce from Anne of Cleves, the Lady Margaret was appointed as first lady of honour to her successor, Queen Katharine Howard. About the time she took her state as the royal consort, the Lady Margaret is found at Reading Palace, Aug. 22, 1540, evidently on her way to Hampton Court to join the new Queen. Edmund Peckham, Esq., cofferer of the King's household, appeared before the Privy Council to receive instructions "for certain ordering of his Majesty's household, likewise for the lodging of the mules and the carriage, and for the transport of the Lady Margaret's stuff."[1] Soon afterwards the Earl of Angus and his brother, Sir George Douglas, were sent for to Hampton Court by Henry VIII. It is likely the Lady Margaret joined her father and uncle there. She had at this time apartments assigned her at Hampton Court. The situation of them may be distinctly traced by those who know the palace, close to the ancient private apartments of the English Sovereigns, which were, as usual, in immediate contiguity to the chapel-royal. A list extant of the allotments of apartments at Hampton Court describes those of "the Lady Margaret" as situated at the foot of the stairs, leading behind the chapel up to the Queen's Gallery.[2] No part of the fine old palace was more injured and maltreated in the succeeding century. A noble Gothic window was unglazed, and filled up with coarse materials. In its place a modern organ, and a small gallery for the organist, was inserted. That noble arch on the stairs, now restored by the tasteful exertions of Mr Wilson, the clerk of the works, must have been above the suite of apartments once occupied by the Lady Margaret when she filled the dangerous office of first lady to her uncle's two wives of short-lived queenship—Anne of Cleves and Katharine Howard.

Lady Margaret Douglas, during the year 1540-1, again incurred the displeasure of her uncle and Sovereign, and again on the old score of love-making with one of the Howards. The great favour with which she saw her young

[1] Acts of Privy Council and Henry VIII., edited by Sir Harris Nicolas.
[2] King's MSS., Hampton Court—British Museum.

royal mistress, Queen Katharine, cherished by Henry VIII., encouraged her to accept the addresses of Lord Charles Howard, called by some historians elder brother to her deceased lover or spouse, Lord Thomas Howard; but no such name occurs in the list of the sons of the second Duke of Norfolk of the Howard line, in any pedigree. Sir Charles Howard was the third brother of Queen Katharine Howard, and had probably been termed Lord Charles during the successful period of her queenship by the courtiers. Henry VIII. was no more inclined to patronise the marriage of his "niece Marget" with his new Queen's brother than he had been with her uncle Thomas; so the transgressing damsel was banished from the delights and pleasures of Hampton Court to Sion Abbey, her uncle's favourite prison for his lady rebels. Here Margaret had for her companion her old friend and cousin, the Princess Mary; for the terrible risings in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire of the suffering peasants, through which counties Henry VIII. had just made a justiciary progress in the autumn of 1541, in company with his young Queen, were supposed to have been encouraged by the Roman Catholics, of whose religion the Lady Margaret Douglas was as ardent a professor as the Princess Mary her cousin. The Abbess Agnes, the Lady Margaret's former custodian, was dead, and another lady-superior in office—Clementia Tresham.[1]

In the first days of November the terrible accusations which Cranmer brought against the young Queen Katharine Howard occurred. The lady-prison of Sion Abbey being required for this criminal of higher rank, the King's daughter and his niece were permitted to vacate it, Nov. 13, 1541. Yet Lady Margaret Douglas was not suffered to depart without a threatening lecture, as expressly dictated to Archbishop Cranmer in Sir Ralph Sadler's code of instructions, for the disposal of Henry VIII.'s troublesome womankind, according to this curious State Paper:—

[1] Clementia Tresham, the last abbess of Sion, died at Royston in Northamptonshire. Margaret Dely, one of the aged nuns, is buried at Isleworth in 1561. Sir Francis Knollys, Elizabeth's cousin, was made custodian of Sion for life. The nuns emigrated to Lisbon the first years of Elizabeth.—Lyson's Environs.

"The King's pleasure is, that my Lady Mary be conducted to my Lord Prince's house, Havering Bower, by Sir John Dudley, with a convenient number of the Queen's servants; and my Lady Margaret Douglas to be conducted to Kenninghall, my Lord of Norfolk's house in Norfolk, in whose company shall go my Lady of Richmond, if my Lord her father and she be so contented."[1] Cranmer was "directed first to call apart my Lady Margaret Douglas, and declare to her how indiscreetly she hath demeaned herself, first with the Lord Thomas, and secondly with Charles Howard, in which part ye shall with discretion charge her with over much lightness, and finally give her advice to beware the third time, and wholly apply herself to please the King's Majesty—with such exhortations and good advices as by your wisdom ye can devise to that purpose."[2] Margaret's exile from Court to the seat of the Duke of Norfolk, Kenninghall, was scarcely likely to make her forget Charles Howard. However, no more occurs regarding her partiality to this gentleman, who died a bachelor[3]—whether, like his kinsman Lord Thomas, for love of the fair Lady Margaret, cannot now be determined.

An important event in the life of Lady Margaret occurred while she was sojourning at Kenninghall. Her mother, Queen Margaret, died at Methven Castle on the 24th of the same month. Henry VIII., who was then on the eve of war with his nephew James V., sent to Scotland his Berwick Herald, Harry Ray, in order to learn whether his deceased sister had bequeathed any property to her daughter in England, likewise the particulars of her death. The herald brought no cash for Lady Margaret, although he had important tidings to tell of the penitence of Queen Margaret on her deathbed regarding her treatment of her daughter, and that she fully acknowledged Lord Angus to be her rightful husband. The Queen confessed that all her personals ought to belong to Lady Margaret, her daughter, because she never in her life had bestowed any cost on her. In Queen Margaret's cash-box were found 1200 marks. Her jewel-

[1] State Papers, vol. i. p. 692. [2] Ibid.
[3] Dugdale's Peerage.

box was richer; but to much of the glittering contents her son's consort laid claim, as heirlooms of the Queens-consort of Scotland—probably with reason.[1] It was not likely, as Queen Margaret lived with another husband, Lord Methven, that he would suffer any of her jewels or ready cash to find their way to her daughter and Lord Angus in England. Nevertheless the deathbed of Queen Margaret proved the legitimacy of her daughter, which Henry VIII. could no longer impugn as he had previously done. War with England soon afterwards broke out, which prevented Margaret Douglas from appealing to the justice of her brother, James V., regarding her proper share of their mother's personals. In this war her father, Lord Angus, was forced by Henry VIII. to take a dangerous part against her royal brother. When or where the father and daughter parted, at his undertaking the Border campaign, is not specified, but it was the last time she saw him for many years.[2] James V. defeated his stepfather at Haldenrig, by his general, Huntley. Angus nearly met with his deserts at this raid. He was either caught round the neck by the weapon of some Scottish man-at-arms, or noosed by a *lasso*, as he was retreating from the lost field. With great difficulty he freed himself with his dagger, and made good his flight. His dear brother-in-law, Henry VIII., wrote him a taunting letter on his defeat.[3] Angus made some overtures for reconciliation with his own Sovereign, in which the disposal of the hand of his daughter Margaret formed an item. James V. was willing that she should be bestowed in marriage on his victorious general, the Earl of Huntley, but only as his "base sister."[4] Now marriage with an Earl of Huntley was no degradation to any Princess of Scotland; but the Lady Margaret liked not the epithet "base sister," and, much to her own loss, declined the offer of the Chief of the gay

[1] State Papers, vol. v., Nov. 1541. Letter of Harry Ray, Berwick Herald.
[2] Hume of Godscroft's History of the Douglases, p. 263.
[3] Halliwell's Letters of Kings, vol. 1.
[4] Haynes' Burghley Papers. Deposition of Alexander Pringle. Huntley was a young man at that period. He died of his hurts at the battle of Corrichie, in the reign of Mary Queen of Scots.

Gordons. She professed herself willing at this time to marry the Earl of Bothwell[1]—Patrick Hepburn, father of the notorious James, Earl of Bothwell. He was a family connection of her father, who would have acknowledged her lawful royal descent, and probably reckoned on making great advantage of her claims to be the heiress of his neighbour, Lord Angus. It may be well supposed that all these negotiations for her marriage with Scottish nobles were carried on between herself and her father while she was in the east of England, at Kenninghall, under the charge of the Duke of Norfolk and his daughter the Duchess of Richmond, far from the jealous ken of her uncle Henry VIII. and the espionage of his Council. The year 1543 commenced with great changes for Scotland and for Margaret. Her brother, James V., was dead; and her father, the Earl of Angus, with those of his kin and dependants, who had been for many years exiles on the bounty of her uncle King Henry, were invited by the Scottish Government to return to their country and take possession of their estates. King Henry permitted them to cross the Border to Scotland, on the promise of doing their best endeavours to obtain the hand of the infant Queen of Scots for his son Prince Edward. Lady Margaret affected great zeal for this alliance for her royal niece, perhaps with sincerity, for she would have been the nearest female relative in England to the little Queen.

Lady Margaret sent her cousin, the Princess Mary, whose establishment was then renewed at Hunsdon, a New-Year's gift of a gown of carnation satin, fashioned after the Venice mode, by her man Peter, who made such things, for which the servant was given a fee of twenty shillings. The circumstance is remarkable, as it is the first notation of a present made by Margaret at the usual seasons.

The influence of Katharine Parr, when wooed by Henry VIII. in the succeeding spring, effected a reconciliation between him and the Princesses of his family. The Lady Margaret Douglas was summoned to the marriage of her royal uncle with this his sixth Queen at Hampton Court,

[1] Haynes' Burghley Papers.

July 10, 1543, and assisted at the ceremonial as one of the princely bride-maidens. About a fortnight afterwards the Lady Margaret accompanied her cousin, the Princess Mary, then sick almost unto death, to the mid-counties, for change of air. Lady Margaret Douglas subsequently sojourned with her and the Princess Elizabeth at the Palace of Ampthill. While there, the Lady Margaret ordered her man Peter to embroider a pair of sleeves for the Princess Mary, for which good service Peter was paid 7s. 6d. Soon after the Princess gave the Lady Margaret Douglas a benefaction of four pounds.[1] The cousins were all three together with Queen Katharine Parr at Westminster Palace the same Christmas, when Margaret presented her New-Year's gift to her cousin the Princess Mary with her own hands.[2] The Princess then gave the Lady Margaret's three women three gold sovereigns, and her men-servants twenty shillings.[3]

All attempts at matrimonial alliances on the part of the Lady Margaret, as well as those of her royal relatives of Scotland and England in her behalf, having hitherto proved abortive, she remained in a state of comfortless widowhood for nearly seven years after the death of Lord Thomas Howard. At last it occurred to her gracious uncle, Henry VIII., that he might render her a useful puppet in luring one of the Princes of the blood-royal of Scotland from his allegiance to his native Sovereign; and, in pursuance of that project, he caused an offer of her hand to be made to Matthew, Earl of Lennox. The position of Lennox, with regard to the regal succession of Scotland, bore a close analogy to that of Margaret to the Crown of England. Between Matthew, Earl of Lennox, and Margaret's sire, the Earl of Angus, a deadly feud existed—a feud apparently irreconcilable—for the father of the Earl of Lennox had been slain by Angus in a skirmish at Linlithgow, and Matthew, with his three brothers, had been carried to France in their childhood, to avoid his malice. But the tracing of Lennox's pedigree will show that, for several gene-

[1] Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary, edited by Sir F. Madden.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

rations, his ancestors had rather been Frenchmen than Scots, for the line of Darnley-Stuart had long been naturalised in France—Sir John Stuart had been created Lord d'Aubigny by Charles VII.,[1] for whom he had performed high service in expelling the English invaders from France. He was slain at Orleans in 1429, when supporting the banner of the Maid, raising his battle cry of *Avant Darnley!—Jamais darrière Darnley!* and leading the forlorn hope at the head of a stout band of Scots exiles and retainers of the Stuart-Darnley. All France, the young valiant King, and the enthusiastic Pucelle, in the midst of the triumphs at Orleans, mourned the early death of the valiant Scottish exile. His son, Allan Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, was cherished with the utmost favour by the King of France.[2] John Stuart of Darnley, who returned to Scotland in 1495, rose to the greatest favour with James IV., who restored the lands and lordships of his line in Scotland; and on his marriage with Lady Jane Hamilton, (sister to the Earl of Arran, and legitimate granddaughter to James II.,) King James IV. created him Earl of Lennox, and bestowed great territorial wealth upon him. Bitter jealousy soon sprang up between the kindred houses of Hamilton and Lennox. The Earl of Arran, in the minority of James V., having provided himself with two or three countesses, all living at his feudal seat, the dispute arose whether his son or the second Earl of Lennox, the son of his aunt, were the rightful representative of the Princess Jane Stuart, (daughter of James II.;) and, consequently, whether Arran or Lennox were

[1] "Aubigny, on the Cher, forty leagues south of Paris, gives title to a duchy, and has a chateau on a charming plain. Charles VII. presented it to Jean Stuart, Constable of Scotland, in recompense of his services. He was, however, only called Lord of Aubigny, the duchy not being created till afterwards, though it had originally been one of the appanages of Louis d'Evreux, of the blood-royal of France. The town had a great commerce of cloths in flax, and wool, and wax, from all which the lord drew some sweets."—Geog. Universel de la France, 1804. Aubigny is famous for trout, and for its angling streams; but we fear Earl Matthew bestowed his attention on fishing in more troubled waters than in the sparkling tributaries of the Cher. There are twenty-nine other towns in France of the name, or very near it, but the Aubigny on the Cher is that pertaining to the Gallic Stuarts.

[2] Collins' Peerage, edited by Sir Egerton Brydges.

nearest in the royal succession. The quarrel whether Arran or Lennox should take place next the King, James V., was the real cause of the death of Lennox. His four sons, Matthew, Earl of Lennox, Robert, afterwards Bishop of Caithness, and two infants, afterwards known by the titles of Monsieur d'Aubigny, and Monsieur Gonhart, were carried to France for safety, and brought up by their father's uncle, the Lord of Aubigny, as Frenchmen, under the immediate patronage of Francis I. and the late Regent of Scotland, the Duke of Albany, whose nearest relations (next to the young King, James V.) they were. Matthew, Earl of Lennox, obtained great military renown in early youth in the Italian wars of Francis I. He held a command withal in the Scots Archer Band, the celebrated body-guard of the Kings of France, where his valour, his beauty, his lofty stature, and skill in all martial exercises, rendered him one of the most admired cavaliers in France. As to his religion, like several other noted characters in that celebrated band, his creed was that of political expediency.

It is a remarkable fact, not noted in the pages of general history indeed, but recorded by that celebrated contemporary of the parties, John Knox, that James V. of Scotland, on the death of his two sons, had promised to adopt Matthew, Earl of Lennox, as his successor, to the disparagement of the claims of their mutual kinsman, the Earl of Arran. This design had been superseded by the hopes the Queen, Mary of Lorraine, soon after gave of bringing a royal heir to the Crown. The birth of Mary Stuart effectually disappointed the ambition which had been fatally infused in the heart of Matthew by the partial intention of King James; and he continued in the service of Francis I. till Cardinal Beton, as we have shown in the preceding biography, enticed him back to Scotland, by promises of wedding him to the Queen Dowager, Mary of Lorraine, and declaring him the next heir to the Crown, and Regent. He came as the accredited envoy of France; but the first thing he did was to quarrel with the Earl of Angus, his future father-in-law, and renew the old

feud. Although Lennox came for the purpose of contesting the claims of the Governor Arran both to the regency and his family estates, under the pretext of his being illegitimate, he dissembled this intention at first, having to deliver letters to him from the King of France. This ceremony he, in violation of diplomatic etiquette, did not perform till the 26th of April. It was necessary for an outward reconciliation to take place previously between him and Angus—the Governor acted as the peace-maker. Sir Ralph Sadler was introduced to Lennox on this occasion, and greeted him by embracing him after the French fashion.[1]

During a period extending over a year and three months, Lennox, as we have seen, tried the influence of his handsome person and French graces on the obdurate heart of the Queen-Dowager of Scotland. As an interlude during his courtship of that Princess, he demanded the hand of the Lady Margaret Douglas of Angus.[2] Subtle as was Sir Ralph Sadler, the Earl of Lennox was too cunning for him, nor could he tell on which side that nobleman meant to rank himself. In July 1543, Sadler thus wrote:—"And for the matter touching the Earl of Lennox, your Lordships of the English Privy Council shall understand that the Earl of Angus hath told me lately 'that the said Earl of Lennox would gladly make alliance with him, and marry his daughter, the Lady Margaret Douglas;' which marriage he, the Earl of Angus, referreth wholly to your Majesty."[3]

The agent employed by Sadler and the Douglas party to seduce Lennox from his duty to his Queen and country, by flattering him with hopes of this alliance, was Sir Hugh Campbell, the Sheriff of Ayr, a neighbour, and probably a friend of Lennox, whose estates lay in the west country. This sheriff formed an accurate judgment of Lennox's character and principles, for he told Sadler "that, if money were sent to him from France, he would be sure to remain firm to the Queen and Cardinal; but, failing that, he

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 162-3. [2] Ibid.
[3] Letter of Sadler to Henry VIII., July 13, 1543.

might easily be won over by England, and, in the interim, it would be difficult to deal with him. And though," continues Sadler, "he [the Sheriff] thinketh that the said Lennox would be content to marry the said Lady Margaret, yet, whether he would have her so, as for her he would leave France, [his interest in that country,] and adhere firmly to your Majesty, he is in great doubt."[1].

After the coronation of the infant Queen, comes this important notice of Lennox's progression in his English courtship:—"But touching the Earl of Lennox, as I was closing up this letter came to me one of his servants, and brought me two letters from the Earl of Glencairn, to be addressed, one to my Lady Margaret Douglas, the other to myself; which two letters it may please your Majesty to receive here enclosed. And for credence, he told me that the Earl of Lennox, his master, had left the Governor's and Cardinal's party, and, being noted hitherto a good Frenchman, is now become a good Englishman, and will bear his heart and service to your Majesty, and very shortly intendeth to despatch a servant of his to your Highness, and to the said Lady Margaret, with his full mind in all behalfs." This would be a very curious specimen of a political wooing from a double-minded traitor.

Sadler, of course, reported the rather haughty expressions that the Queen-mother of Scotland had used, when he mentioned to her the remark that a contract of marriage had been signed between her and Lennox, whose revenge was already roused for her rejection of his love-suit. If he listened to the enticing offers of Henry VIII., and to the Earl of Angus, vengeance on the disdainful widow, both as woman and Queen, he guessed would speedily follow.

The ships from France arrived October 6th, 1543, with the money so eagerly expected by Lennox, and which, according to the opinion of the Sheriff of Ayr, would turn the balance against England, and the projected alliance with the English monarch's niece. But Lennox, by this time, had

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 232-3.

formed a plan for obtaining both. He beguiled the French captain into lodging the money, for better security, in his castle of Dumbarton; and though he gave a receipt for it, he determined to keep it for his own use. "And the Lord Somervail," writes Sadler, "telleth me that the Earl of Lennox will justly excuse the same, and hath his mind so set on the marriage of the Lady Margaret Douglas that he will not now slip from the party of the King's Majesty's friends here, notwithstanding the arrival of the said aids from France."[1] Nevertheless, Sadler considered Lennox a slippery gentleman, and placed small reliance on his word; for, in the postscript to the same letter, after mentioning another of his assertions, he adds, "This he saith, but what he will do knoweth God."[2]

After much vacillation, Lennox made up his mind to complete his pact with Henry VIII., and win the Lady Margaret for his bride. He sailed from Dumbarton for England some days after the attack of April 1, having deputed his command to the Earl of Glencairn, his accomplice in his vile design of surrendering it to the English. The Earl of Lennox was thus able to convey to England all the French subsidy, and whatsoever he pleased. It was, however, needful that the articles should be ratified regarding the bribes for which he had sold himself to Henry VIII. For this purpose he and his accomplices went to Carlisle, when they met the Lord-Warden of the English Marches, Lord Wharton. The Scottish traitors present at this congress were the Earl of Lennox, and his brother Robert Stuart, Bishop of Caithness, the Earl of Glencairn, Hugh Cunningham, and Thomas Bishop, secretary to Lennox, whom, for the disquiet of his future existence, he had made the companion of his flight. They all signed at Carlisle the articles which branded them renegades. Glencairn was given a gratuity of one thousand crowns, for his intended betrayal of the castle of Dumbarton; and the Bishop of Caithness was to remain in England, as

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 314.

[2] There is in Haynes' State Papers, vol. i. p. 18, a letter from Henry to Lennox, assuring him of his protection and favour.

hostage for his brother's performance of the treaty.[1] Lennox pledged himself to deliver up to its English enemy the castles of Dumbarton and Rothesay, to prevent Henry VIII.'s *pronepte*, the infant Queen, from being sent into France; and, moreover, if ever in his power, to deliver her up to that King, her loving uncle. To reward these good doings, Henry VIII., by his Lord-Warden Wharton, stipulated to make the said Matthew Lord-Governor of Scotland, when he could subjugate it. He was, for present encouragement, to receive the hand of the King of England's niece, Margaret Douglas, with an annuity of five hundred English marks. Lennox and his friends then withdrew, it may be supposed to his ship, or ships, at Chester, leaving his brother Robert, Bishop-elect of Caithness, in the hands of the Lord-Warden, as hostage. Meantime his bridal was preparing at St James' Palace in London, where apartments were made ready for him and Margaret. Lennox could offer little in the form of a jointure to the niece of the English monarch, since all his Scotch estates, if we may trust the valuation at which the Regent Arran rated them, would not, if sold, have realised ten thousand pounds Scots; and even these would be forfeited by his treason to his Queen and country.[2]

The Lady Margaret Douglas received from her cousin, the Princess Mary, several valuable jewels as marriage gifts: a balas ruby, with a diamond table cut, set over it like a glass, with several middle-sized pearls pendant from the same; another large balas ruby, and a diamond, with one great pearl—but the diamond was taken out and set in a girdle buckle.[3] Again the Princess notes:—"Given to my cousin Margaret Lennox, at her marriage, a brooch of gold, with a large sapphire; a brooch of gold, with a George of diamonds, that in all likelihood was to be given to the Earl of Lennox by his bride." Again occurs the hand of the Princess Mary: "Given to Margaret, at her marriage, a brooch of gold, with one balas ruby, and the History of

[1] Keith's Church and State of Scotland, chap. iii. p. 35.
[2] Haynes' Burghley State Papers, p. 42.
[3] Jewel Inventory, Princess Mary—kept by Mary Finch, the Princess's purse-keeper, edited by Sir F. Madden.

Susanne,"—that is, it was wrought or painted in miniature on a large brooch. Another such ornament of gold, with the History of David, and a diamond and a ruby set thereon. Another with the History of Noah's Flood, set round with many rubies and diamonds. Another brooch, with the History of our Saviour Healing the Man with the Palsy, a table diamond set in the gold embossing.

The bride was certainly not in the first bloom of youth, for she had passed her thirty-second year; but Buchanan speaks of her as a Princess renowned for the beauty and comeliness of her person. As for the bridegroom, he was about the same age—perhaps two or three years younger.[1]

The marriage-settlement of the Lady Margaret and Matthew, Earl of Lennox, bears date June 26. Henry VIII., in this instrument, carried out his intentions of exciting every energy of the plighted pair to further his efforts against Scotland. He gave great grants in England to the Earl of Lennox; but Margaret's settlements were in Scotland, on the inheritance of the Earl; and she was to stimulate him to the utmost exertion, or she could not even look upon the property from which was to be derived her subsistence if widowhood should occur. And actually such arrangement, in after days, added no little to the bitter sorrows with which the cup of the third English Princess of the Tudor line was filled. Her settlement declares, "That, as the Earl of Lennox had made humble suit unto his Majesty for marriage with his Highness's niepte the Lady Margaret Douglas,[2] it hath pleased his Highness, for the good opinion he hath conceived of the said Earl's faithful loyal affection to his said Majesty,[3] upon an assured hope that the said marriage shall be an indissoluble *knot-band* of the said Earl and his posteritie's love towards his Highness's most noble successors, to grant his suit therein. The said Earl bindeth himself by these presents to endow her with these parcels of his lands and possessions in Scotland. First, the land of Glenrinne, Balloch, and Arthinturlees, with all their appur-

[1] Keith.

[2] Fœdera, tom. xv., June 26, 1544.

[3] The reader must remember that Highness and Majesty mean the same person, Henry VIII.

tenances, lying in the Earldom of Lennox, and Sheriffdom of Dumbarton. Likewise all the baronies of Chukispe, Ynchchilune, Craig of Nielstown, lying within the Lordship of Darnley and Chiefdom of *Renfrell* [Renfrewshire.] Thirdly, with all the lands of Erere, lying in the Sheriffdom of Perht [Perth] to the yearly value of 5000 marks."[1]

It would have been a difficult task for Margaret to have claimed and found out by the above nomenclature the Scottish baronies and estates with which it was the good intent of Matthew to jointure her. But the case was this, his accent, if not his language, was wholly French, and the English notary, who had no means of spelling all the hard Celtic names but from the Gallic Scotch Earl's pronunciation, wrote down such sounds in Margaret's marriage-settlement as pleased fortune. It must have been rather a rich scene when the handsome Earl was dictating the settlement to the English scribe, with all these crabbed names: he subscribed this deed, "Matthew, *Orle* of Levinax."

Henry VIII., out of his special favour to his niece Margaret, and in consideration of the great loss the Earl of Lennox had sustained in France by his submission to his Majesty, and in recompence of his property at Dumbarton and the isle of Bute, gave the Earl possessions in England to the yearly value of seventeen hundred marks sterling. But no clause secures this English property to Margaret herself, as a reversionary provision. Henry VIII. kindly appointed Lennox to the regency of Scotland, on the traitorous condition that it was to be governed in all things by the edicts of the English Privy Council. He bargains withal, that when Lennox earns the regency of Scotland, he is to endow "his dearly beloved *niepte*" with an income according to her rank. Such were the conditions of adoption in England of him who called himself the first prince of the Scottish blood-royal. Henceforth the husband of Margaret Douglas was bound to be first and foremost in every assault that could injure or wound the land of his fathers.

The letters of naturalisation for Matthew, Earl of Lennox,

[1] The Scotch names are thus spelled in the Fœdera.

and another traitor, his secretary, Thomas Bishop, were completed July 6th, by Henry VIII. in person, at Westminster Palace, which was the day of Margaret's marriage, as Lennox is mentioned therein as the King's beloved *consanguineo*, or relative—which term is not used in Margaret's marriage-settlement.[1]

The King had devoted his newly ornamented palace of St James's to the entertainment and reception of the Earl of Lennox; and there the wedlock between that Prince and the Lady Margaret was celebrated. When the merriment of the nuptial feast was at its height, Henry made a harangue on the proximity of his niece Margaret to the throne, declaring publicly, "that, in case his own issue failed, he should be right glad if heirs of her body succeeded to the crown."[2] Such profession was sufficient to make those predict, who knew King Henry VIII. best, that he would, by every means in his power, prevent his niece, Lady Margaret, from taking her natural place in the regal succession. Her claims of being the third Princess of the royal family were, in truth, very nicely balanced. On the one side there was against her Queen Margaret's divorce from her father, and subsequent marriage to another husband; while in favour of her legitimacy there was her mother's dying confession, that the Earl of Angus was her only rightful surviving husband.

A few days after the marriage, Henry embarked for France with the army he had withdrawn from Scotland. The newly wedded bridegroom likewise bade farewell to his Countess, the Lady Margaret, and departed to carry on with the small force of five hundred men—all that Henry could spare for the molesting of his neighbour—a desultory warfare on the Borders of Scotland. Meantime the Lady Margaret remained at the court of the Queen-Regent, Katharine Parr, who was by the absent King, from time to time, in his letters, desired to deliver his commendations to "his cousin Marget." Lennox embarked with an

[1] Fœdera, tom. xv., July 6, 1544. Keith. [2] Fuller.

English naval expedition,[1] and, coasting to the north-west of the island, made an attempt on Dumbarton, which he expected would have been surrendered to him without effort by his accomplices. It seems that he and his man Tom Bishop were actually admitted, but found there was a plan to deliver them to the Scottish Government. They escaped with difficulty to the English ships. Bishop is the only historian of the adventure. "At the jorney [*journée*]" he says, "in Dumbarton Castle, upon disclosing of the treason against the King's Majesty [Henry VIII.] and us, openly in the chapel, I willed the Earl of Lennox to take a *Marrish pyke* [a marsh pike] and fight, rather than return with shame in England."[2] Bishop mentions the narrow escape of Lennox and himself in their doublets on that occasion, when, according to his sarcastic inuendoes, the personal valour of his master did not shine pre-eminent. After doing a great deal of mischief to the towns and villages of Arran and Argyll, the invaders sheered off, and contented themselves with cruising, for the purpose of intercepting some ships of discovery sent out by Francis I., on their return from *the Newfoundland*.[3] Stowe mentions the failure of the Earl of Lennox in his attack on Scotland, observing, that it was made soon after his marriage; but he returned without achieving the enterprises he had undertaken, having reckoned on more influence than he found he had there.

The first coolness between the Lady Margaret and her royal uncle is hinted at by Tom Bishop, the most determined mischief-maker that ever sowed strife among family connections. He was sent with despatches to Henry VIII., who had just taken Boulogne, with the account of the proceeding of the naval force in its descents on the western coast of Scotland. Tom Bishop, who had distinguished himself in this warfare, says, "I was embraced in the King's Majestie's arms before his whole Privy Council, in his privy

[1] State Papers—Domestic Records, September 1544. The attempt on Dumbarton was August 10.
[2] Bishop to Cecil—Maitland Club Miscellany.
[3] September 30, 1544. State Paper Office.

chamber." A curious fact this, illustrative of the popular and hearty manner of bluff King Hal, in testifying his approbation of those who rendered him important services. Bishop, who is a very greedy fellow, would not have been contented with the honour of a regal hug, without substantial rewards following the condescension.

There is every reason to suppose that Henry VIII., after the marriage of his niece Margaret, established her at the royal palace of Stepney. Margaret's aunt Mary, Dowager of France and Duchess of Suffolk, sometimes resided here when revisiting London, and dates several of her letters, which are extant, from it. Stepney Palace is well worthy of the examination of the antiquary. Its fine hall and chapel remain entire. It is in the immediate vicinity of the antique church of St Dunstan. Margaret, in all probability, gave birth to her eldest son, Henry, at Stepney Palace. The Princess Mary noted in her inventory of jewels, (no date,) "Given to my cousin, Margaret Lennox's son, a lace of goldsmith's work set with little sparks of diamonds and rubies, and twenty-one pearls." This ornament seems a species of trimming to decorate a state-dress for the child. The first Lord Darnley died, and was buried at the end of the chancel at St Dunstan's Church, Stepney, under a brass with an inscription, quoted by Speed:—

"*Here lieth Henry Stuart Lord Darnley, of the age of three quarters of a year, late son and heir to Matthew Earl of Lennox, and the Lady Margaret his wife, which Henry deceased the twenty-eight day of November, in the year of God* 1545, *whose soul Jesus pardon.*"

It is scarcely possible that the Lady Margaret was at Stepney Palace when her first-born babe, at the engaging age of nine months old, was consigned to his long rest in the adjacent church of St Dunstan. The increasing engagements of her warlike lord on the Scottish borders induced her to fix her residence in the north; she had left the infant both as a hostage for its father's sincerity, and in hopes of its finding favour in the eyes of its uncle, Henry VIII. At that time she was at the beautiful domain of Temple Newsome, four miles from Leeds, in the West Riding of

Yorkshire. She was in a state soon to repair the loss of the first Lord Darnley.

Temple Newsome had very lately pertained to the unhappy Lord D'Arcy and Meynel,[1] who suffered for the part he took in the Pilgrimage of Grace. The D'Arcys, three centuries before, had received Temple Newsome, after the dissolution of the order of Templars.[2] The circumstances under which Henry VIII. granted it to Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, bound Matthew not only to the service of his new Sovereign, but also to his creed, or away went Temple Newsome and its fair domains.[3] To this grant, Bishop Lesley says, Henry VIII. had added the lands and the abbey of Jarves, by which, perhaps, he means the domains and magnificent remains of Jorveaulx Abbey, once the pride of Yorkshire.

Margaret gave birth to her second son, the Prince whose posterity were destined to wear the three-fold diadem of the Britannic Empire, on the 7th of December 1545,[4] at Temple Newsome. Her boy was that ill-fated favourite of fortune, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. The characteristic motto of the aspiring family of Lennox, "Avant Darnlé"—Forward Darnley—was emblazoned in letters of gold on the bed where he was born, together with the words, "Jamais Darrière—Avant Darnley,"—words which probably gave a sanguine impetus to the expectations of the heir of a semi-royal house, of whom one parent was the reversionary heir direct, after four removes, to the Crown of England, and the other claimed to be heir-presumptive to that of Scotland. And this fair boy blended in his person the hopes of both. The proud words, "Avant Darnley, Jamais Darrière"—Forward Darnley, Never Recede—with which his ancestors had turned the tide of English conquest in France, had doubtless an oracular influence on the destiny of him who, having at nineteen won the hand and heart of the beauteous Sovereign of Scotland, chose also to have the Crown—

[1] Whittaker's History of Leeds, p. 137.
[2] Ibid. Grant by Edward III. to Sir John D'Arcy and his heirs-male.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Mademoiselle Keralio, the only author we can find who gives the day of Darnley's birth, says 1545 or 1546.

would not submit to a second place in the realm, and audaciously struggled for the precedency of title which was that sovereign's due.

The room in the ancient dwelling of the Templars, where Lord Darnley first saw the light, was spared when Temple Newsome was pulled down, or extensively repaired, by the Ingrams, its later possessors. Thoresby, the antiquary of Leeds, affirms that it was long pointed out by the inhabitants of that district as "the King's birth-chamber." As the domain was a grant from the Crown by James I., Darnley's son, the preservation of that chamber had evidently been one of the conditions. Even the comparatively modern part of Temple Newsome is remarkable for traits of quaint antiquity, which look strange in the eyes of the present generation. The gratitude of the grantees into whose possession it passed spoke in exuberant piety and loyalty in sentences commemorated by no evanescent materials. At Temple Newsome a battlement surrounds the lofty roof, composed of capital letters more than two feet long, standing up in full relief against the sky. "I walked round the towering walls," says the distinguished lady[1] who thus describes it, "to decipher this code of moral and religious duty which has stood so many centuries, reminding the noble proprietors of that holy religion in which their fathers lived and died. ALL GLORY AND POWER BE GIVEN TO GOD, THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE HOLY GHOST ON HIGH. PEACE UPON EARTH. GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN. HONOUR AND TRUE ALLEGIANCE TO OUR GRACIOUS KING. LOVING AFFECTION AMONG HIS SUBJECTS. HEALTH AND PLENTY WITHIN THIS HOUSE. If the date of this literary battlement can be specified, it will be found of the era of James I., and not contemporary with his grandmother, who was usually distressed for money. Bess of Hardwicke, Countess of Shrewsbury, was one of the first who tortured letters into balustrades, as at Hardwicke Hall, which, like Temple Newsome, affords specimens at this day.

The infant Lord Darnley was consigned, while he was yet in his cradle, to the care of a servitor, whom his tender

[1] Miss Catherine Sinclair—Scotland and the Scotch.

mother deemed of approved fidelity. He never left the noble child night or day, but watched over his first steps, and continued to guard him from his youth upwards. The name of this person, common as it is, will have a startling effect on the minds of those historical readers—and they are very many—who are familiarly acquainted with the *dramatis personæ* of the tragedy of the Kirk-o'-Field: it was Taylor. No giddy page, Darnley's own contemporary, but a trusty retainer in middle life—doubtless a man of the same religion of which the Lady Margaret was so zealous a professor. It has always been one of the mysteries of history wherefore Henry VIII. excluded the English-born daughter of his eldest sister from his will, and made her give place to the descendants of his younger sister, the daughters of the house of Brandon. But there had been a violent quarrel between the uncle and niece—a circumstance only mentioned by her husband's secretary, Bishop, who, being a most expert mischief-maker, having access to Henry VIII., and on the terms of familiarity just described, had every opportunity of denouncing his master's wife. The Lady Margaret, it is quite apparent, was the object of Master Bishop's supreme detestation, which peeps out of every line of his remarkable memorial. For all the political protestantism Earl Matthew professed, his man, Tom Bishop, takes the credit. Of course, the Lady Margaret's influence over her loving husband and that of his secretary came into collision directly she was safely settled in the north, and found herself surrounded by persons of her own religion. She called Tom Bishop a heretic,[1] and did her best to keep Earl Matthew in the communion of the Romish Church. The insinuations of the household spy were, that she encourged communication between the Scotch enemy and her husband. "The breach between Henry VIII. and my Lady Levenax was but a little afore that King's death," as Bishop expressly declares, or the lady would probably have been summoned by her uncle to take her old lodgings in the Tower. As it was, he excluded her from her place in the regal succession,

[1] Harleian MS., pp. 273, 274, 275.

despite of his deceitful declaration at her wedding, although she was the mother of one of those important personages designated "heirs masles" in Tudor testaments — her infant son, Darnley, withal promising to be in time as gigantic in height as Henry VIII. himself.

How the lord and lady at Temple Newsome received this blow is not known; but as Margaret was in disgrace with her uncle, she must have been in dread of much worse treatment than her exclusion from the royal succession. She and her Lord were either summoned to court or thought it prudent to present themselves there; for the Lady Margaret is next found at Hampton Court, where, taking the infant Lord Darnley with her, she hastened to make acquaintance with her young kinsman, Edward VI.—the Scottish ambassador, Sir Adam Otterbourne, noticing in his letters to the Queen of Scotland that the Lady Margaret was at Hampton Court, and had presented her little Lord Darnley to the young King Edward, as early as the spring of 1546-7.[1] Her husband was the companion-in-arms of the Protector Somerset, and was on intimate terms with the aspiring Dudley, yet nothing could overcome the coldness with which his wife and he were received at St James's or Hampton Court. One redeeming virtue Matthew, Earl of Lennox, undeniably possessed—this was his intense attachment to his wife; and his love for her increased with the increase of years and misfortunes. He had been disappointed and deceived in regard to her position in the royal family—one historian even says she had been declared illegitimate by act of Parliament,[2] yet without distinguishing whether by the English or Scottish Parliament. It is possible that, when her husband was carrying on his really diabolic warfare against Scotland, the leading powers of that country aimed this shaft at his wedded partner, taking advantage of her mother's vile propensities to divorce and change of wedded partners; for the Earl of Lennox had drawn upon himself the execration of all humanity, not only as a ruthless soldier in the field, but by

[1] Extracts from Advocates' Library, communicated by our kind and lamented friend, Mr Macdonald. [2] Keralio.

a deed of blood which whispered despair to his own soul whensoever it communed with itself. Lennox and Wharton were commanding in the terrible inroad into Scotland, September 1547. Somerset wrote to thank them for their good service; and no wonder, for they sacked and destroyed Annan, the church and steeple of which town was heroically defended. In the last of Lennox's inroads, a body of Scottish horsemen, which he had forced into his service by having their children in his power, deserted him at a critical moment. Twelve of these youths were in prison, as hostages or pledges, at Carlisle.[1] When the Earl of Lennox, burning with party malice, returned defeated with Lord Wharton to that city, he clamoured for the execution of these unfortunates. Lord Wharton, rough as he was, and not too good, shuddered at the slaughter; but the hateful sycophancy of Earl Matthew for the English cause prevailed—eleven of the boys were hanged by his orders.[2] It may be learned from the information of the gallant Lord Herries, the heir of Maxwell, that though he was one of this devoted number, and spared, no thanks to Lennox, for the rope was round his neck. He was so very young and boyish that one of the manly English soldiers who had to do the work turned sick with horror, and could not pull it to destroy him; and so the poor child's life was saved.[3]

What a tragedy!—what a romance in one act! What a heart-sickening scene is here portrayed! and oh for the name of the brave right-feeling soldier who could not kill the poor young hostage! Maxwell of Herries lived to be one of the most manly protectors of Mary, Queen of Scots. But what must have been the feelings of the parents of the actual victims, the other boys, the cowardly butchery of whom Lennox urged on, from motives of infamous time-serving to the oppressors of his country! Many a black deed had been committed at the Harribee Hill of Carlisle, but surely this was the worst of all. It was unrevenged as far as the eye of man could ken. But long veiled in the dim obscurity of unedited history as that deed and its subse-

[1] Ridpath's Border Hist., p. 563. [2] Holinshed. [3] Herries' Memoirs.

quent punishment have been, the assertion can safely be made, that the retribution was terrible; for Matthew, Earl of Lennox, could never afterwards be left alone. Solitude inflicted on him agonies which threatened to terminate in death. And it is to the pen of his faithful partner, Margaret,[1] that her biographer is indebted for that knowledge. The wife does not indeed say that it was the murderous execution of the poor young boys at Carlisle that caused her husband's malady of mind, which made silence and solitude intolerable to him; but her evidence is remarkable that such was his case—his disease, as she calls it: whether a case of conscience let the reader judge from his deeds.

Yet nothing that the Earl of Lennox could do against his country could prevent him from being considered slack and reluctant in his incursions on Scotland; and there was a relentless fiend close behind him eager for blood, because he was eager for gain, who, having received grants in the lands conquered by the English in Scotland, was restlessly watchful for the opportunity of involving his master irrevocably with their own country. There can be no vituperation invented for evil-doers like their own setting forth of their actions. "Above all others my countrymen," writes Bishop of himself to Cecil,[2] "I have been most earnest, most inventive, *most cruel*, most careful to subvert that realm of Scotland. Let a trumpet be blown on the Marches, requiring any of that nation or of France to come forward and charge me, I seek not Scots to try my doings, but noblemen of England under whom I served!" "The most inventive, the most cruel!"—did ever any other age witness such self-praise? Truly Lennox was well punished to feel himself in the power of such an accomplice,[3] who, goading him forward to deeds of horror, remained in the shade, leaving his most miserable master to endure the obloquy. It is to the honour of the Lady

[1] State Paper Office—Letter of Margaret, Countess of Lennox, hitherto unedited. [2] Harleian MS., &c.

[3] The Earl of Lennox by no means retaliated the abuse which Bishop sent to the Privy Council regarding him and his Countess. Lennox had obtained for him the grant he was so eager to acquire.

Margaret that she was the constant theme of Tom Bishop's abuse. At the end of February, after his destruction of Annan, Lennox marched to besiege Drumlanrig, where his father-in-law Angus was enclosed, who wrote to inquire how he meant to act towards him. The Earl of Lennox and Wharton returned for answer, "They be only favourable to those who favoured the godly marriage and *peace*." Angus escaped with difficulty to the Highlands, and the castle of Drumlanrig was desolated. In the midst of the horrors of this most atrocious warfare, the old castle of Dalkeith, another stronghold of the Douglases, was burnt and sacked treacherously by the English. It was the home which had sheltered Margaret occasionally in her infancy and girlhood, when it suited her father to dwell near the Scottish capital. Its destruction caused her father's heart to swell with the memories of old times, and induced him to write this letter to his daughter, who, with her lord, was then at Temple Hurst, in Yorkshire. The quaint brevity of Angus's epistle has something touching when mentioning the demolition of the old house at home.

"DERREST DOCHTER,[1]—After my maist tender commendations and heartly blissing, this sal be to advertise you, that through mischance and under *traist* [trust] as I believe, the house of Dalkeith was *distroyit* [destroyed.] And taken furth of it our cousin, the Laird of Glenbervie, the Master of Morton,[2] George[3] my son, David Home of Wedderburne, and Alexander Home, his *eme* [uncle.] Praying you, with *avise* [counsel] of your husband to see gif ye can get them, or part of them, put in friends' hands, and gently treated there, and specially the Lairde of Glenbervie, that is ane sickly tender man, and has ix motherless bairns; and let George lie in pledge for him, as zour wisdom thinks best."

The Earl's arrangements were kind-hearted towards his sickly relative. He wished that Margaret would take him home from the intolerable prison which the invaders thought good enough for their captives, and cherish him at Temple

[1] State Paper Office. Archibald, Earl of Angus, to the Countess of Lennox, Edinburgh, June 10, 1548. Scotland—Correspondence.

[2] The Earl's nephew, the younger son of Sir George, being James Douglas, afterwards the Regent Morton.

[3] Afterwards fatally known, in the troubles of Mary, Queen of Scots, as the Bastard Douglas.

Hurst. Her uncle, Sir George, was equally anxious that her hospitality should be extended to his hopeful son, James of Morton.

The old Earl thus concludes his paternal epistle—

"And make my *heartly* commendations to my Lord, zour husband, and give credence to this bearer, my servitor, David Stewart, as to myself, and God preserve you. Written at Edinburgh the xx of June, 1548.

"Zour father,

"ARD EARL OF ANGUS."

Addressed—"To my derrest Douchter, the Countess of Levenax."

Matthew, Earl of Lennox, after a family consultation with David Stewart, who was accredited to tell all that the Lady Margaret's sire left unwritten, thought it only prudent to take Angus's letter from her, and despatch it, by a special messenger, to his friend the Duke of Somerset. Lennox enclosed it in a letter of his own, couched in his usual base and time-serving style; yet it is very easy to be seen, notwithstanding their mutual protestations, that his lady had resolved to comply with the request of her father, if not forcibly prevented. "*Hit* may please your most noble Grace to be advertised," wrote Lennox to Somerset, "that this Wednesday, the 27th of the month, my wife did receive by a gentleman of the Earl of Anguish, called David Stewart, two letters—one from the said Earl, and the other from [Sir] George Douglas, his brother, the which letters I have sent to your Grace herewith."[1] The letter from Margaret's uncle, Sir George Douglas, has not been preserved, but Lennox's comments on the contents give the information, that Sir George requires his niece to ask "that his Grace will permit her (if he will not grant the keeping of all the Douglas prisoners) to take home his son, the Master of Morton, as well as the sick Laird of Glenbervie; which Laird," dryly observes Lennox, "your Grace may perceive the Earl of Angus doth more esteem than his own bastard son George, and all the rest that he and his brother write for. Howbeit, I do perceive his brother [Sir] George doeth esteem, and is more careful for, his own younger son,

[1] State Paper Office—Scotland, Correspondence,—Lennox to Somerset, June 27, 1548.

the Master of Morton, than for his elder son, which he did deliver in hostage *ere yett all the rest.*" Meaning, apparently, that Sir George previously had delivered his eldest son as a hostage, in preference to his favourite, James of Morton. Sir George likewise had written, according to Lennox, "that his son, Morton, should not remain a prisoner for the want of any sum as ransom, and that he would not suffer an exchange for him with any English prisoner the Scotch had in their hands,"—all which vaunting regarding their rival cousin greatly moved the spleen of the Earl and Countess of Lennox. "The Earl of Anguish and his brother," pursues Lennox,[1] "might better have *dressed* [addressed] themselves to others, to have been suitors for them than either my wife or me, for we have received no such benefit at *nother* of their hands so to do, but rather to desire your Grace to keep fast when you have them, like as always my poor opinion hath been." But such was only profession — his real intentions, according to the behests of his lady, come out in his next paragraph; but, of course, all is to be for the benefit of his English patrons, when following the plan he and his wife had agreed upon. "Notwithstanding, if it shall please your Grace that I may have the keeping of the Master of Morton and the Laird of Glenbervie with the others, I shall *answer* [be answerable] for the sure keeping of them always to your Grace, for I would be very glad to prove what fruit might follow the fair words of the Earl [of Angus] and his brother." Then, in some involved double-meaning sentences, he leaves in doubt whether he has most at heart the restoration of the rank and property he had lost in Scotland, or gaining these powerful chiefs over to the interest of Edward VI. In his postscript he adds a message from his lady to this effect—"My wife hath desired me to make her humble recommendations unto your Grace, and saith that she will make answer neither to father nor uncle until she know your Grace's pleasure therein."[2]

[1] State Paper Office—Scotland, Correspondence,—Lennox to Somerset, June 27, 1548.

[2] The direction of this letter is a historical curiosity, being—"To the

The Duke of Somerset actually permitted the family congress to take place at Temple Hurst, where the Lady Margaret soon after received her Douglas kindred, extending her hospitable care to the poor dying Glenbervie, out of pity to the nine motherless *bairns* for whom her sire, with so much *bonhomie*, had interested her maternal heart. Two persons were admitted at the same time by the noble matron to her hearth and home, who subsequently became accomplices in a deed which desolated her very soul—James, Earl of Morton, and her illegitimate half-brother, George. To their crimes they added base ingratitude; for the Lady Margaret ran no little risk when she obtained permission for her cousin and brother to receive her hospitality and protection—which perhaps, at that terrible period, saved their lives. The circumstances which brought the mother of Darnley and the Earl of Morton first together have hitherto remained unknown.

The Earl of Lennox, for his services in the war against Scotland, received considerable augmentations of his northern possessions. Some of the spoils of the then ruined house of Percy are found in the possession of himself and his lady. They occasionally kept their provincial court, in great state, at the noble castle of Wressil in Yorkshire; and in about the same time received a permanent grant of the Percy residence at Hackney, near London—a place which the Lady Margaret retained to the last hour of her life. Her residence at this period of her life was, notwithstanding its dangerous vicinity to the seat of war, almost constantly in the north; for it was the first wish of her soul to educate her young son, Lord Darnley, in the tenets of the Romish Church. To Temple Newsome, therefore, she retired from the Court of Edward VI., taking with her Lord Darnley, her priest and secretary, Sir John Dicconson, and Taylor, her young son's valet or chamberlain,

Right Honourable my Lord the Duke of Somerset, his Grace Lord Protector of all the King's Majesty his realms, dominions, and subjects, and Governor of his most Royal Person. Haste—post haste—haste with all possible diligence."

and a train of household officials and ladies, who preferred the free exercise of their religion in the distant wolds of Yorkshire to the pleasures of the minor Sovereign's court. The Earl of Lennox and the Lady Margaret chose for the tutor of their son a political priest, a very learned Scotchman, of the name of John Elder, a member of a collegiate church at Dumbarton, who had followed the fortunes of the Earl of Lennox when he fled to England. John Elder was a clever linguist, a good Latinist; and as to his English, he surpassed most of the natives of the south in the clearness and pleasantness of his style. He had written in favour of the royal supremacy of Henry VIII.; also, a popular pamphlet, setting forth the advantages of the union of England and Scotland—a union into which King Henry was then endeavouring to coerce Scotland at the point of the sword. The little treatise, which is well known to black-letter collectors, proves John Elder to have been a man in advance of his time, in regard to statistical wisdom—the more remarkable, as the author claims to be a Highlander, those worthy Celts, at that period, being little skilled either in political economy or in the noble science of composing readable and idiomatic English. Nevertheless, the priest signed himself John *Redshank*—the appellation by which the Highlanders were known in the south.

Among his other accomplishments, John Elder rivalled Roger Ascham in fine penmanship—in which mechanical art, much overrated as it was in those days, he was desirous that his young pupil should surpass the young King, the Princess Elizabeth, and their cousins of the house of Gray. Darnley commenced his education at the early period of four or five years of age. The chief part of the building of Temple Newsome is comparatively modern; but the magnificent oaks and sweet chestnuts with which the park abounds[1] had attained a flourishing maturity when the little Prince—for such the son of the niece of Henry VIII. was considered—sported beneath their boughs,

[1] Whittaker's History of Leeds.

or conned the ponderous tasks set him by the political priest, John Elder.

The tenacious affection which the Lady Margaret manifested for her sire throughout his adverse fortunes, during all their wanderings, had been estranged since their paths in life had been widely separated by his return into Scotland. Angus had given great offence to his heiress-presumptive, by wooing and wedding a buxom bride, a daughter of the house of Maxwell, in the hopes of settling the fiercely contested claims between his daughter Margaret and his brother George, on the earldom and personals of the house of Angus, by the birth of sons. The young lady very speedily made him the father of two boys, greatly to the displeasure of the family at Temple Newsome.

But this was not all; for when the Lady Margaret accompanied her husband on his last Scottish campaign, and passing near Tantallon, sent word that she wished to see and speak with her sire, she was denied. Indignantly did all the fiery pride of Plantagenet-Tudor, to say nothing of the Douglas blood, (proverbially none of the coolest,) effervesce in her bosom. Her own letter proves her resentful remembrance of this denial. Nevertheless, the wily old lord was not much to blame. No one could have known his "son Matthew" better than himself. They had been partners in iniquity in the stormy periods of 1543 and 1544, when Lennox had proved himself to be the very personification of treachery; and if he had accompanied the Lady Margaret into Tantallon, it might not have been very easy to dislodge him—and then what would become of Angus's new Countess and his boys? The destiny of the tender children of Angus was, most happily for them, settled by the winter cold of 1548-9: they died peaceable deaths in their soft cradles, instead of living to expire on the turf of some battle-field, or on the more vexatious pillow of the headsman's block. As early as February 23d, in that year, the Lady Margaret received from her father the announcement of the deaths of her unwelcome little brothers, and that his heart was most warmly turned towards her, his only surviving heir. He had, besides,

heard much of the wondrous promise of her son the young Lord Darnley; and he finished by entreating her to come to Carlisle, when he would advance near enough to the debatable ground to give her a meeting. This may be gathered from the epistle of his dutiful son-in-law, Earl Matthew, who, well pleased at the communication, but at the same time alarmed at the inimical use which might be made of his correspondence with Scotland at the court of the Regency of Edward VI., forwarded his part of the family despatches to the Marquis of Northampton, one of the Ministers of State. The epistle of old Angus was enclosed in one from the Earl of Lennox, written in so treacherous a spirit that every person reading it will own that it was only common prudence in his father-in-law to keep him on the safe side of the gates of Tantallon Castle:—"The Earl of Angus, according to his accustomed fashion," writes Lennox, "hath often sent to me fair words without deeds; and having experience of his untruth to the King's Majesty, [Edward VI.] and unnaturalness as well to me in Scotland as in this realm, I passed the same lightly over. Now of late, the 23d of February, being importune upon me with a hot message, I thought good to put the same in *write*, which I send herewith to your lordships; and if it stand with your pleasure that I shall repair to Carlisle according to his desire, either to allure him to the King's service or *to put him in greater suspicion with that realm*, [*Scotland, or rather the Regency thereof*,] I shall obediently accomplish the same."[1]

The filial desire expressed here is further illustrated by an angry letter from Margaret to her father. At the time she thus answered her father's communication she was with her lord at Wressil Castle.[2]

[1] Maitland Club—Selections from unpublished MSS. illustrative of the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 54-5. March 1549.

[2] This castle was built by Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester. There are still ruins of the princely mansion. It is in the East Riding of Yorkshire, in the Holme Beacon division. Since the love-passages between Percy and Anne Boleyn, that mighty line had been under a cloud, persecuted by Henry VIII., and not better treated by the regents of his son. Wressil Castle is called the King's Majesty's, as, though it had been torn from the Percys, it was given to the Earl of Lennox as castellan, not as owner.

MARGARET, COUNTESS OF LENNOX, TO EARL OF ANGUS.[1]

"MY LORD,—After my humble commendations, and desiring of your blessing, this shall be to signify to you the great unnaturalness which you show me daily, being too long to rehearse at all points; but some I will declare.

"Now the worst of all, my Lord, is that, being near you, and most desirous to have spoken with you, yet you refused it, and would not, wherein you showed yourself not to be so loving as you ought to be, or else so unstable that any one may turn you. For divers times have you said you would be glad to speak with your son [Matthew Earl of Lennox.]

"My Lord, remember he hath married your own daughter, and the best child to you that you ever had, if you call to mind your being here in England. Howbeit, your deeds sheweth the forgetfulness thereof, insomuch as you are so contrary to the King's Majesty's affairs that now is [Edward VI.], his father being so good and so liberal a prince to you, which ought never to be forgotten.

"But now, my Lord, I hear say that you have protested never to agree with England, insomuch as the most part of your friends are slain, [at the battle of Pinkie;] but whom can you blame for that but only your own self-will? For if you had agreed to this *godly* marriage, there needed no Christian blood to be shed!

"For God's sake, remember yourself now in your old age, and seek to have an honourable peace, which cannot be without this marriage. And what a memorial it would be to you for ever, if you could be an instrument for that!

"If I should write so long a letter as I could find matter with the wrong of your part and the right of mine, it were too tedious for you to read; but for as much as I purpose, God willing, to come to Carlisle shortly after Easter, I will keep it in store to tell you myself, for I am sure you will not refuse coming to me, although my uncle George and the Laird of Drumlanrig speak against it, whom I know would be glad to see you in your grave, although they flatter you to your face.

"My uncle George hath said, as divers Scotchmen have told me, that though you had sons, he would be heir and make them all bastards; but my Lord, if God send you no more sons, and I live after you, he shall have little part thereof, or else many a man shall smart for it.

"Thus leaving to declare to you farther of my mind till I may speak with you myself, I commit you to the keeping of Almighty God, who send you long life with much honour. From the King's Majesty's castle of Wressil, the 15th of March.

"By your humble daughter,

"MARGARET LENNOX."

Endorsed in a hand of the time—"From Margaret Lennox to her father in Scotland, March 15, 1548-[9.]"

Plenty of vengeful Tudor spirit is apparent throughout the above despatch of my Lady Margaret to her penitent

[1] State Paper Office—Scotland.

sire. The uncle George at this time holds a remarkably low place in the esteem of his royally descended niece, who thus declares open war upon him, with the unfeminine promise to her father, that, if she survives him, uncle George shall have little part in her inheritance, or "else many a man shall smart for it." Never did any elderly nobleman take a rating from a high-spirited daughter more meekly than did the head of the house of Douglas on this occasion. He was contented with the haughty engagement with which her dutiful epistle concludes, that she meant to condescend to an interview because the rest of the rating was to be delayed until they met. Angus took all in good part, and, without appearing offended with the arrogant tone of his Princess daughter, cast about in his wily head a mode of communication between Castle Wressil and Castle Tantallon, which should compromise neither party. He caused his own falconer, James Lindsay, to write to his daughter's falconer, William Paterson, who was a Scotchman, and apparently the bearer of all the letters that arrived from Castle Wressil, "that he had a promising cast of the famous Tantallon hawks for his mews, if his Lord would send him across the Border for them." It was easy to surmise that the Scottish Paterson could come and go between Wressil and Tantallon, aided by his Scottish tongue and costume, without danger of detention. And then the old Earl hoped to hear news of his Margaret and her beautiful boy, and to receive kinder messages withal than her last bitter letter afforded. Angus rightly guessed that a true copy of that remarkable epistle was duly sent to the English Privy Council by Lennox. In truth, the expressions touching the godly marriage between Edward of England and Mary of Scotland were introduced for that purpose. Margaret, though she sent William Paterson for the cast of noble Tantallon falcons, remained *dour* and sullen, deigning no message, good, bad, or indifferent, to her father. The Earl of Lennox, her husband, only sent a very reproachful one, which was not to be delivered without much urgency on the part of the old Earl. William Paterson, the falconer, set out on his hazardous journey for the promised

falcons, and safely arrived at Tantallon Castle. The heart of old Angus sorely yearned after his Margaret, and her son Lord Darnley; and when he found that William Paterson made no effort to see him, to deliver messages or letters, but only minded his own business by holding professional colloquies with his compatriot James Lindsay, the Tantallon falconer, the Earl made an appointment to meet him at break of day in the middle of the castle green. Such was a common precaution, in times of war and terror, to disappoint eavesdroppers. Even as late as the era of Oliver Cromwell, the open green before Holland House is noted in the traditions of Kensington as the spot where Cromwell and Ireton conferred on the death of Charles I., having several acres of open ground about them—a space where it was impossible for listening ears to be concealed.

Falconer Paterson having presented himself before his lady's father, the conference began by Angus asking "how his son the Lord of *Levenox* did, and his daughter the Lady Margaret, and their young son, for he would be right glad to hear of their welfare?" Being satisfied on these points, the old Earl inquired of the falconer "what Lord Lennox thought; what he intended to do;" and then asked in plain words, "Is there no secret thing thou art bidden to show to me?"

"Nothing special," replied Paterson, "but to fetch the hawks; and, if I saw your Lordship, to say, my Lord [Lennox] wished to be commended to his father the Earl of Angus; that he would be glad to hear he *wor* in good health, and more kind to him *nor* [than] he had been in times past."

Angus rejoined, "Well, seeing they have sent nothing else to me, I will break a little of my mind to thee, for I trust thee well enough, and have given the servants of my lands charge to receive thee at all times. Thou shall declare my daughter Margaret is the thing in the world that I love best, and my Lord her husband, and that young boy there—for my children are dead that thou sawest.[1] Then," continued the bereaved father, "if they

[1] Letter from the Earl of Lennox, in Stevenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary—Maitland Club book.

[Lennox and Margaret] be at home and well, then I am in comfort; and yet I am as strange to their doings and proceeding, and how they intend *to pass over the world*, [through the world,] as any enemy they have. Nor can I see them, nor they me, which breaks my heart! Trowest thou that I would see any man above that man and that boy, which is of my blood? And he [Lennox] hath been of a noble house, and I have seen him like a man! An' he will do my counsel, I shall wear these old bones of mine, but I shall make him a man yet. The world is *vera* strange. I have seen many changes, yet hath it been said in old times that an Earl of Lennox and an Earl of Angus could have ruled something on this side Forth! Show my son Lennox there is a great man to come forth from France this year, to take the rule and authority of the realm on him. It is suspect that he will be strict to the great men here, and we *will* abhor French laws, an' they be sharp. It is told me by my cousin [probably Arran] that the Lord Gray [of Scotland] shall be put in at first. Therefore desire my son Lennox, and my daughter Margaret, to get leave to come down to Carlisle, that I may see her ere I die, and that I may know his mind. An' his way be better *nor* mine, I will use his counsel; and if mine be better nor his, it is natural for him to take it; for I will give him advice in nothing but that shall be for the weal of both realms, and shall not be for the hurt of anything he brooks [cares for] in that realm. What care I for all the rest of the world, if they be in honour? Thou mayest tell him there was bonds between us afore this, but now is there greater bonds of flesh and blood! And whereas he hath always put a doubt in George my brother, show him that neither he nor Drumlanrig shall go any way, or do anything, but as I will. Thus, I pray, mark well my words, and bring me answer again, and he shall know more at our meeting."

Whosoever placed these words thus in due order, whether Paterson the falconer or Lennox the lord, possessed no little of the best sort of literary power. Half soliloquy, half confidential, they are naïve and natural; and

much they remind us of those terse yet racy old chronicles from whence Shakspeare drew some part of his inspiration. Excellently well did falconer Paterson carry a message, and still better brought he home an answer—for the report at least must have originated from him. The Earl of Lennox sent the sayings of old Angus, and the whole account of the adventure, with his usual sycophantic precaution, to the English Privy Council, lest some other person should have preceded him in that work, and drawn suspicion on him and his Margaret. Either the Privy Council was not agreeable to the interview, or the Lady Margaret could not subdue her sullen displeasure against her once-loved father, for there is no trace of a meeting between them until the end of the war with Scotland.

The life of the Lady Margaret in the north was varied by the births of several children. Only two of these lived to be historical personages; yet she was the mother of no less than eight, among whom three little daughters are reckoned. During two or three years of the reign of Edward VI. she found it the best policy to keep as much out of public notice as possible; and this time she lived in princely state either at Temple Newsome, or Castle Wressil, occupying herself, during the frequent absences of her consort, in superintending the elaborate education of their eldest son. She had inspired one of the great northern magnates, the Earl of Westmoreland, with a deep and enduring passion. No one dared to say that she returned it, or that there was a shade of criminality in it; but the Earl only thought, and looked, and acted according to her will, or as he thought to please her.

When the Queen-Dowager of Scotland came to London, early in November 1551, the Lady Margaret deemed it requisite to appear at court; for she was a Scottish princess as well as grand-daughter of the royal house of England, being sister to the late King, James V., and aunt to the reigning monarch, Queen Mary, and wife to their near kinsman the Earl of Lennox, the third prince of the blood-royal, and by claim the second to the Scottish crown. But the Earl of Lennox was a traitor to his Queen and country,

proscribed and forfaulted by the estates of Scotland; consequently, neither he nor his son, the young Lord Darnley, could be presented to the Queen-mother of Scotland among the princely kindred of Edward VI.

Mary of Lorraine received Margaret most graciously when she came with the Brandon and Gray princesses of the house of Tudor, to wait upon her at the Bishop of London's palace, and to conduct her into the presence of the young King. Mary of Lorraine, on that occasion, solved all nice questions of precedency that might have arisen among these rival kinswomen, by giving the place of honour to Margaret, whom she invited to sit beside her in the chariot which conveyed her, the Lady Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, and the Lady Jane Gray, in their stately procession from St Paul's to Westminster, and the same at their return. As the Lady Margaret was sister-in-law to the royal guest, no one could object to this arrangement.

THE LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS

COUNTESS OF LENNOX

CHAPTER III.

SUMMARY

Lady Margaret sent for by Lord Angus, her father—She asks leave to cross the Border—Letters of Northumberland concerning her—Absent at Accession of Queen Mary—Notices of Lord Darnley's education—Lady Margaret at the Queen's marriage—Birth of her son Charles—Death of her father—Disputes regarding her inheritance—She assumes the title of Angus—Illness of her lord—Death of Queen Mary—Lady Margaret and her lord visit Queen Elizabeth—Graciously received—Return to Settrington House, Yorkshire—Reports of Margaret's sayings and doings there—Secret witness watches her—Her conjurors—Her wards—Her son, Lord Darnley—Exults at the escape of Mary, Queen of Scots—Sends a messenger to her—Incurs the vengeance of Elizabeth—Arrested in Yorkshire—Brought to London with all her household—Her son Darnley escapes—Her lord sent to the Tower—Lady Margaret imprisoned at Sheen.

THE Lady Margaret had so well improved her opportunities when attending on the Queen Dowager of Scotland at St Paul's, London, that she obtained her sanction for visiting Scotland. Before the close of the year 1552, the Earl of Angus sent an earnest request to his daughter, beseeching her to let him behold her once more, as he had something of moment to reveal to her. The Lady Margaret immediately resolved on taking a journey to Tantallon. But there were permissions to ask from other powers than Mary of Lorraine, who was not, at that time, Regent of Scotland; she therefore sent one of her numerous retainers to the Duke of Northumberland, to solicit a passport for

crossing the Border. Her request gave rise to a curious discussion, still extant in our archives, between the Dudley Duke and his confidential man of business, Master Cecil, which casts some light on the affairs at that time of the Lord and Lady Lennox.

"I pray you," writes Northumberland,[1] "remember what I showed you concerning the Lady Lennox, you and I seeming to be of one mind. Nevertheless, forasmuch as I hear no word mentioned of her husband, who, if he mind to remain here, and also keeping her *childer* within the realm, and circumspectly looked to in her absence, the danger can be nothing. And further, I remember that her husband dare not come [go] within the realm of Scotland, because of a deadly feud between the Governor [Arran's] blood and him; and also, that he pretendeth a title for lack [of] issue of the young Queen before the Governor [Arran,] and hath offered to prove the Governor to descend of the base line. All which considered, I cannot think so much danger in her going to her father as I did, when you and I did commune of it. And so it may hap that he would open some matter to her worthy the hearing. Wherefore it is to be considered by the great wisdom of the Lords [of Council] what is to be done in it. Marry, touching her father's inheritance, I am sure she cannot have *no* profit, though he would make her sure of it to-morrow next, except she would *refuse* [renounce] her habitation here, and remain there, as I doubt not but all my lords do know it to be likely and true. Wherefore it *museth* me to think what the occasion should be that moveth her father to seek to have her come so far only to speak with him; but some mystery there must be in it, whatsoever it be, as knoweth the Lord, who have you in his keeping. At Chelsea, this Sunday, the 11 of December 1552."

The Council of Edward VI., notwithstanding the assent here implied of their president, had not resolved on granting the Lady Margaret's request in the commencement of the following April, when she renewed her petition, agreeing to

[1] State Paper Office—Domestic Records—Northumberland to Cecil, dated Chelsea.

all that Northumberland had mentioned concerning leaving her "husband and childer" at home in Yorkshire. But she further made known and stated the circumstance, as a cause for haste, that she was likely, in some months, to increase her family, and wished to return to England time enough to lie-in at her own house. An interval of absence very convenient for Northumberland's ambitious project for the marriage of his son Guildford, which he meant should bring the Crown of England into his own family. He therefore hurried forward the Lady Margaret's passport, writing with his own hand to his secretary, Cecil, requesting that the matter might be expedited with such convenient speed as he could make, intimating to him that, as of necessity the Lady Margaret must have his Majesty's own sign-manual "to her licence," he should appoint the proper court officer to attend on Cecil, who was to draw out the permission; and on the morrow (supposed April 8) he himself would be at Court to finish the affair. Such is the evident meaning of the document, which has been hitherto unprinted; but it is sorely damaged by time or fire.[1] He mentions, it may be remarked, the Lady Margaret as the Lady Margaret Douglas, although she had been married eight years to the Earl of Lennox.

In all probability, the earnest call of her father for her presence and sympathy was connected with religion, for the chief incident concerning her visit to Tantallon is, that she left with him her priest and secretary, Sir John Diccon-son. The infant whose birth the Lady Margaret expected to occur on her return from Tantallon, was one who died too young to be recorded on her monument.

Margaret was either in Scotland, or confined to her lying-in chamber, when the momentous revolution occurred in England at the death of Edward VI. Her interests were no less violated than those of the Princesses Mary and

[1] State Paper Office—Domestic Records, hitherto unpublished, much mutilated, date April 7, placed with the current matter of 1552; but it is distinctly subsequent to the above-quoted document, dated December 11, 1552. It is a fragment bearing no original date on the face; therefore, taking as guide the onward current of events, we have placed it in the above chronology.

Elizabeth, and Mary Queen of Scots, by the attempt then made by Suffolk and Northumberland to place the Lady Jane Gray on the throne. No indication of the presence of either Margaret or her lord can be found at Court until after the coronation of Queen Mary, when the first discontent of the Princess Elizabeth at her sister's court is stated by the French ambassador, Noailles, to have been because the Queen often made the Lady Margaret, her cousin, and even the Lady Frances, the mother of the imprisoned Lady Jane Gray, take precedence before her. In all probability the Queen preferred the companionship of her friend the Lady Margaret, who was of the same religion as herself, and within a few months of her own age, to that of her sister, in whom she now fancied she beheld a dangerous rival. As to defects in legitimacy, it is a historical circumstance well deserving note, that the four ladies, the Queen, her sister Elizabeth, the Lady Margaret and the Lady Frances, their cousins, were all precisely in the same predicament, each of them having doubts cast on their descent being intact.

Again the Lady Margaret and her spouse had the good luck, in a troublous time, to be safe at Temple Newsome, when the more deadly attack took place against Queen Mary—the rebellion of Wyatt. The Lady Margaret had retired from court to her husband and son, after being released from her turn of waiting. She was happily far distant when the dreadful execution took place of her young kinswoman, Lady Jane Gray. It seems that the Earl of Lennox and his lady had at this alarming period given satisfaction to their relative on the throne; for, as an acknowledgment for a translation into English of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, by the little Lord Darnley, which had been forwarded to her, the Queen sent a special messenger with presents to their son, consisting of a rich gold chain and other gifts. The boy, then only just entered into his ninth year, was set by his mother, and John Elder his tutor, to return a letter of thanks for these favours. This document has been carefully preserved among our national archives. Lord Darnley's pedagogue evidently superintended the composition of the epistle; but the fair and steady

characters were traced by the child himself. The account he gives of his early studies proves well enough that his education must have commenced in his tender infancy. And he gives another instance to the oft-proved fact, that mere heavy learning gives neither conduct or judgment in time of difficulty. So little is known of the unfortunate son of Margaret Douglas and Matthew Stuart, although his name of Lord Darnley is familiar indeed to the historical reader, that his first letter may not be unacceptable.

"Like as the monuments of ancient authors, most triumphant, most victorious, and most gracious Princess, declare how that a certain musician, named Timotheus Musicus, with his sweet proportioned and melodious harmony to inflame Alexander the Great, *Quenquerour*, and King of Macedonia, to civil wars with a most fervent desire. Even so I, remembering with myself oftentimes how that, over and besides such manifold benefits as your Highness heretofore hath bestowed on me, it hath pleased your most excellent Majesty lately to accept a little plot of my simple penning, which I termed *Utopia Nova*, for the which, it being base, vile, and maimed, your Majesty hath given me a rich chain of gold. The noise, I say, of such instruments as I hear now and then (although their melody differ much from the sweet strokes and sounds of King Alexander's Timotheus,) do not only persuade and move, yea, prick and spur me forward to endeavour my wits daily (all vanities set apart) to virtuous learning and study, being thereto thus encouraged so oftentimes by your Majesty's manifold benefits, gifts, and rewards. But also I am inflamed and stirred even now, my tender age notwithstanding, to be serving your Grace, wishing every hair in my head to be a worthy soldier of that same self heart, mind, and stomach, that I am of. But whereas I perceive that neither my wit, power, nor years are at this present corresponding to this my good will, these shall be, therefore, (most gracious Princess) most humbly rendering unto your Majesty immortal thanks for your rich chain, and other your Highness' sundry gifts given to me, without any my deservings, from time to time. Trusting in God, one day of my as bounden duty to endeavour myself with my faithful hearty service to remember the same. And being afraid with these my superfluous words to *interturbe* (God forfend) your Highness, whose most excellent Majesty is always, and specially *now*, occupied in most weighty matters, thus I make an end, praying unto Almighty God most humbly and faithfully to preserve, keep, and defend your Majesty, long reigning over us all, your true and faithful subjects, a most victorious and triumphant Princess. Amen. From Temple Newsome the 28th of March.

"Your Majesty's most bounden and obedient Subject and Servant,

"HENRY DARNLEY."[1]

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[1] Cottonian MS., Vespasian, F. III. f. 376. Query, as Darnley appears to date 1554, whether it was to Mary of England or Mary of Scotland. If to Mary of England, how old was he?

In the letter just quoted, it may be observed that the young Lord Darnley alludes to former "benefits, gifts, and rewards," as encouragements for his previous progress in learning. The boy-student likewise completed a translation from the Latin of Valerius Maximus, into English.

The presents and favours of Queen Mary to the son of her kinswoman, Margaret, were preparatory to her own approaching marriage with the Prince of Spain. From that marriage it was impossible for the Lady Margaret to be absent. She was the nearest kinswoman of the Crown professing the same religion as the Queen, and her earliest friend. She had to perform her duties as first lady, which comprised, in her case, those of mistress of the robes and purse-bearer. All the Queen's relatives were, by some adverse circumstance or other, prevented from assisting at the royal nuptials. The Princess Elizabeth was under restraint. The mother and sisters of the Lady Jane Gray could not, for obvious reasons, appear on this occasion. Her young cousin, the Lady Margaret Clifford, was scarcely fourteen.[1] At this period it was common for children of Lady Margaret Clifford's age to be given in marriage, but by no means usual to give them the onerous responsibilities of keeper of the royal purse, and of first lady about the royal person. In the exercise of these accustomed duties, the noble matron, the Lady Margaret, wife of the Scottish Lennox, has been mentioned by two of her contemporaries, the Venetian Bavardo, then present, and the York herald. The last authority adds a little scene that took place between the Queen and her confidential friend and kinswoman. At that interesting portion of the marriage ceremony where the bride is promised by her husband that he will endow her with all his worldly goods; it was then customary for him to give tangible proofs of his sincerity by putting money on the book of the officiating priest, as

[1] She was the daughter of the Lady Eleanor Brandon, who was some years younger than the Lady Frances, and hence had the advantage of being born after the death of the lawful wife her father had repudiated, to marry Henry VIII.'s sister.—Conference on the English Succession.

his first pecuniary gift to the bride.[1] Philip of Spain, as the heir of rich Peru, could afford to be unusually liberal on this occasion. He placed three handfuls of gold, mixed with some pieces of silver, on the book, as earnest of the worldly goods with which his wife was endowed. The Lady Margaret immediately opened the Queen's purse, of which her office made her the custodian, and her Majesty was seen to smile on her as she secured the bridegroom's benefaction. Her eager manner of adding this liberal donation to the very scanty means in the royal purse no doubt excited the risibility of the Queen; for in their youth she and the Lady Margaret had known together much of the troubles experienced by those whose birth and pretensions are higher than their means.

Not only was the Lady Margaret at the wedding of her cousin the Queen, but in all likelihood her young son, Lord Darnley, had been invited by his royal patroness to be present at the glittering festival, for his tutor John Elder was there, as his lively narrative of the ceremony fully proves. He was, according to all bearings of facts, with the Lady Margaret and her son at Winchester, and wrote a remarkable letter to the Bishop of Caithness, brother to the Earl of Lennox, his master, describing the scene; but as Philip of Spain was the hero of his narrative, and the Bishop's curiosity was chiefly excited by him, John Elder mentions not the movements of his patrons, knowing they would be communicated by themselves. Towards the end of his epistle his love for his pupil breaks out: he encloses to the prelate uncle specimens of his scholastic progress—fair transcripts of themes and translations which had been written the preceding spring in the quiet bowers of their Yorkshire home, Temple Newsome. They were evidently of the same species which brought the youthful student so much favour in the eyes of Queen Mary.[2]

Notwithstanding the errors and mistakes committed in

[1] A custom still practised at nuptials solemnised according to the rites of the Church of Rome.

[2] Letter in black letter, printed by John Wayland, sign of the Sun—British Museum.

after life by that most unfortunate Prince, Henry, Lord Darnley, it cannot be denied that he was a miracle of juvenile proficiency in education. If crowns might have been the reward of early clerkly skill with the pen, or premature Latin lore, Darnley entirely surpassed in those "virtuous qualities" the far-famed progress of his cousins, Edward VI., Lady Jane Gray, and Queen Elizabeth.

"I have sent your Lordship," writes John Elder to Robert Stuart, Bishop of Caithness,[1] "certain verses and adages written with the hand of the Lord Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, your nephew, which he wrote this time twelvemonth, I being with him then at Temple Newsome, in Yorkshire. And what praise your Lordship may think him worthy for this his towardness in writing, being yet [now] not fully nine years of age; the like [same] praise is he worthy, surely, for his towardness in the Latin tongue and the French, and in sundry other virtuous qualities, whom also God and nature hath endowed with a good wit, *genteelness*, beauty, and favour. So if it may please God to lend him long life, he shall prove a witty, virtuous, and an active well-learned gentleman, whose noble parents are my singular good patrons. Trusting that your good Lordship, of your accustomed humanity and gentleness, will accept this my simple letter in good part, I most humbly beseech the King of kings and Lord of lords long to preserve and keep your reverend Lordship in health, wealth, and a fortunate felicity, with a merry and many new years."[2]

The date of the New Year of 1552, London, proves that the family from Temple Newsome were still at court. Indeed, the Lady Margaret, in the course of a few years, had woeful reason to recall the period of her attendance about Queen Mary's person, being accused in the succeeding reign of having advised the prolongation of the imprisonment of the Princess Elizabeth. According

[1] This prelate forsook his vows, became subsequently Earl of Lennox and Earl of March, married a vile wife, and died in small public esteem.—Burke's Extinct Peerage.

[2] "Dated from the City of London, this New-Year's day, and the first of the Kalends of January 1555, by your humble orator."

to her own recital of the charge made against her, "of putting in the Queen Mary's head that it was a quietness for the times to have her [Elizabeth] shut up," the Lady Margaret, if her very earnest denial may be trusted, was perfectly innocent of such incendiary conduct. "Never in my life," says she,[1] "I had, or meant to have, any such words with the Queen Mary; nor I, for my part, bare no such stroke to give any advice in such weighty matter,"—meaning that her influence was not sufficiently great with the Queen to be consulted regarding the disposal of the Princess Elizabeth. Elizabeth's jealousy was excited by the notice Queen Mary took of young Darnley, against whom she conceived a dislike, which manifested itself in after years.

The Lady Margaret gave birth to her third son at Temple Newsome in 1556;[2] and appears, in consequence of that event and the cares of her nursery, to have been absent from the Court during the horrors of that frightful era of persecution. Stiff as the Lady Margaret was in her religious opinions, and obstinate in her adherence to her own creed, her name has never been implicated as an approver of any of the cruelties practised on the martyrs of the reformed church. She named her infant boy Charles, perchance in memory of her former lover, Charles Howard. It was about this period that her father, the old Earl of Angus, was stricken with mortal sickness. Margaret, being incapable of undertaking so long a journey in order to attend his death-bed, despatched her confidential secretary and family priest, Sir John Dicconson, to attend the last struggle of her sire, and look after the main chance. Angus expired in the arms of Margaret's priest at Tantallon Castle.[3] After the death of the old Earl, it seems that Sir John Dicconson could do no great good for his employer; for though the Lady Margaret and her two sons were the only apparent heirs of her father, he, perhaps

[1] Historical Letters, edited by Sir Henry Ellis.

[2] Zurich Letter, where his age is mentioned by his tutor, Malliet.

[3] Minutes of Alexander Pringle's examination before the Privy Council of Queen Elizabeth, about six years afterwards, 1562—endorsed by Cecil, and published in the Haynes' Burghley Papers, p. 381.

resentful for her rating letter, had not provided that they should be the better for his demise. The daughter's clerical agent, however, took the liberty of examining the papers of the defunct. Among others, it is asserted that he found a letter which the Earl of Angus had written to the Justice-Clerk, Bellenden, at Edinburgh. The letter, if of the nature reported, which is very doubtful, must have been composed to avert the family evil of long and ruinous litigation. He volunteered the information, "that, after the deaths of his two young sons by the Lady Maxwell, his remaining descendants had no claims on the earldom of Angus, that there was no entail on his daughter, and that he was minded to have the same entailed on the Earl of Morton, one of his nephews."[1] The Lady Margaret's priest, according to evidence extant, seized this testamentary epistle of old Angus to the Scottish head of civil law, and stopped it. This was the hearsay information afforded by one of the Lennox servants some years afterwards, when undergoing the alarms and terrors of Queen Elizabeth's Star-Chamber inquisition. At the time the evidence was given before Cecil, the tender friendship between Elizabeth's minister and that brother of his soul, the Earl of Morton,[2] was just opening into full flower; therefore this report by one of the household servants of Temple Newsome of a testamentary disposition in favour of the Earl of Morton, carried off by the Lady Margaret's priest and secretary, was, perhaps, a little favourable distortion of evidence. If Angus's letter had directed the disposition of his personal property to Morton, one of his younger nephews, there might have been some probability in the report; but here is an earldom left by a common letter, not only from the testator's only descendant who claimed it, but from the son of the eldest son of the testator's next brother.

Lady Margaret, despite of all the underhand pretences of

[1] Haynes' Burghley Papers, p. 381.

[2] Morton was one of the sons of Sir George Douglas. He married the heiress of the elder line of the Earl of Morton, his kinsman, and the title was conferred on him by Mary of Lorraine when Queen-Regent of Scotland.

her kinsman Lord Morton, or the more legal claims of the grandson and next heir of her hated uncle, Sir George Douglas, haughtily assumed the title of Angus, and added it to her signature. Soon afterwards she craved her cousin-german, Queen Mary, to exert her influence with the Queen-Regent of Scotland, Mary of Lorraine, that she might sue out in that country her cause and claims on her inheritance from her father. It was not a very favourable time for such proceedings, for the Queens of England and Scotland, following the leads of their hostile spouses of Spain and France, were just meditating a renewal of war. However, Queen Mary, or her husband's governing junta in the Council—for she herself, at that time, lay between life and death—wrote the official application required by the Lady Margaret, and sent a civilian, Dr Laurence Hussey, to break ground for her claim on the Angus property in the Scottish Chancery. So mighty was the inheritance at issue, that the ambassador of the King of France in Scotland made no scruple of advising the Queen-Regent to seize it for the use and benefit of her daughter. Not quite so easy a matter, as the rich domains were inhabited by a sturdy and self-willed population, who had their ideas and opinions as to whom they chose to acknowledge as feudal lord. The curious letter is still extant in the French archives, from M. d'Oysell to M. de Noailles, Bishop of Dacqs, dated 1556-7, January 22, announcing the death of the Earl of Angus, and the proposal to seize on the great inheritance, lest the Queen of England should insist on the Countess of Lennox being admitted as heiress of the great possessions.

"Monsieur,—I can add nothing to the despatch of du Faultrey, but the death of the Earl of *Angous*, of whom Lady Lennox is the principal heiress, and that I much think that the Queen of England will favour as much as she can the claims of that lady to the succession, and that she will do all she can, by one way or another, for that purpose. I pray you to take heed of that, and employ all the pains you can to discover what they mean to do about it where you are. For my part, I have had the boldness to advise this Queen [Mary of Lorraine] to seize a strong place named Tanrasson, [Tantallon?] which pertained to the late Earl; and, at all events, and for many sound reasons, which are not held in proper consideration by any one but me, I hold that there ought

not to be any other heiress to that succession but the young Queen of Scotland."[1]

Soon after, he announced that an English agent was waiting at Berwick suing for a passport.[2] This was the Lady Margaret's civilian, Dr Laurence Hussey. He rode from Edinburgh to Stirling Castle, April 5, 1557, to have an interview with the Queen-Regent regarding the cause of his client.[3] "Surely," wrote that Princess, to the Queen of England, "we have not only given Dr Hussey favourable audience in that matter, but have also, at your request, opened justice unto him, and given express command that the Chancellery shall be patent unto the said Lady Margaret; albeit she stands in some case far different from the privileges that are common to the subjects of this realm." The privileges of entering into Chancery—Scotch Chancery in particular—are not so very enviable; however, such as they were, the Lady Margaret, as the wife of an outlaw and an attainted traitor, received here a gentle hint of the special favour she was granted by being indulged with the luxury of a Chancery suit in common with any unoffending Scotchwoman, who was the wife of an honest man. The Queen-Regent observes, with regard to the more delicate matter of the pardon of Lennox—"Whereas Dr Hussey, upon the 18th of this month [May,] brought a writing to us, whereof the desire is that we should dispense with the rebellion of the said Lady Margaret's husband, some time Earl of Lennox, to the effect that *he may give consent* to the pursuit of the said action, we could not meddle therewith, as well for that it is a matter of special grace, which we are always accustomed to refer to our dearest daughter herself."[4] Thus, the gracious admission of the Lady Margaret into Chancery did not permit her to proceed very far. A technical impediment instantly stopped her progress as the wife of a man who had lost his civil rights.

[1] Unpublished Pieces and Documents relating to the History of Scotland—single copy, printed for the use of the Bannatyne Committee, p. 278.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Strype's Memoirs.
[4] State Paper Office—Royal Scotch Letters.

By permission of the two Queens, a meeting took place between the Lord-Warden Wharton and Kirkaldy of Grange, November 14th, 1557, for the discussion of the recovery of the Lady Margaret's inheritance. Lord Wharton inquired of Kirkaldy "whether it would not be a great matter, [meaning a matter of great difficulty] to bring back the Lady Margaret and her lord, requiring a strong and influential party in their favour among the nobility of Scotland?"[1] Kirkaldy replied, "They ought first to have the castle of Tantallon given them, which is in the keeping of the Laird of Craigmillar, and in the Dowager Queen's power;"[2] his words implying, that, if Mary of Lorraine surrendered Tantallon Castle to its supposed heiress, she would soon gain friends by gathering the retainers and relatives of her family about her. It is easy to perceive, from this conference, that the Lady Margaret and the Queen-Regent of Scotland, Mary of Lorraine, had kept up an amicable correspondence, from the time probably of their meeting in London, 1551, both being smooth, soft speaking ladies, conventionally courteous, and neither noted for sincerity.

Hume of Godscroft, the historian of the house of Douglas, who was the contemporary of the rival claimants for the earldom of Angus, says, "If the entailment were not *very* strong, which it seems it was not, Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, had the better right, and was before him"—meaning Morton's nephew, Archibald, then a child, whose guardian Morton was. Morton, to strengthen his own and his nephew's cause, contracted the boy Archibald to the daughter of Monsieur d'Oysell, and by this artful move obtained the interest of that powerful statesman with Mary of Lorraine—keeping up the farce long enough to carry his point against Lady Margaret.[3]

Most tantalising, assuredly, was the state of the claims of the husband and wife, each demanding by law a principal inheritance in Scotland. Moreover, Margaret considered herself nearest legitimate Princess in England. Matthew claimed the rank of the first Prince of the blood in Scot-

[1] Wharton to the Privy Council.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Hume of Godscroft's House of Douglas, p. 279.

land. Mary of England at this time manifested distrust of the Earl of Lennox—a feeling evidently arising from communications made to her Council by that notorious mischief-maker, their inmate, Thomas Bishop. The Lady Margaret had discovered his betrayal of her lord, and took the opportunity of denouncing him to Queen Mary, her royal mistress, as a heretic; but, strange as it is, that information did not relieve them of this dangerous man, who boasted of his superior influence to the relatives of the reigning Queen in these words:—"Queen Mary, though my Lady Lennox told her I was an heretic, gave me unbeknowen of her (who would have had me forsaken) livings here, to have followed her army into Scotland, my pension anew, with the addition of the words *lakking*,[1] and, to the end of her Majesty's days, in the affairs of Scotland trusted me where she did not her *deare cousing of Levenax*," [cousin of Lennox.]

Margaret and her husband were certainly very poor, for her portion amounted to a mere trifle; and his large estates in France had been confiscated, as well as his Scotch inheritance. The allowance of five marks a-day for the maintenance of the Earl's war-appointments; mentioned by Bishop, must have been much needed to assist them to support their establishment. That treacherous dependant adds an accusation of their selling the timber, bark, and stones, as well as being guilty of the petty larceny of stripping off the lead from the building they inhabited, and held of the Crown. If true, such proceedings are evidences of the poverty which reduced them to pitiful ways and means for raising a few ill-gotten pounds. The malignant informer endeavours to accuse my Lady Margaret as the most prominent of the twain in these misdemeanours of stripping away lead, and selling stones, timber, and bark—it being the first time, we think, that the daughter of a Queen, and the sister, niece, and grand-daughter of Kings, was accused of such practices. The materials, most likely, belonged to the dilapidated abbey of Jorveaulx, of which they had received the grant.

[1] Meaning lacking, therefore that the Crown was indebted to him for arrears of the said pension.

John Elder, Lord Darnley's tutor, was despatched by his lady to France, with letters from his lord and lady to Stuart, the Lord d'Aubigny, in order to awaken an interest for them at the court of the young Sovereign, Mary Queen of Scots. The French Princes of the blood manifested no little curiosity respecting the son of Margaret and Lennox. The King of Navarre, (Antoine) asked the Lord d'Aubigny much of Lord Darnley, "of his stature, age, and upbringing." Of course his pedagogue gave a report to his best advantage. He had an audience of the young Queen of Scots, and displayed to her specimens of her kinsman Darnley's penmanship when he was but eight years of age. Elder returned to England, bringing letters to the Lady Margaret and the Earl of Lennox, and to his young Lord Darnley, from their kinsman the Sieur d'Aubigny. Lord Darnley's tutor, at his departure from France, received as a present fifty crowns from Cardinal de Lorraine, the uncle of the young Queen, Mary Stuart. The indefatigable spy, Bishop, waylaid Elder and extracted from him the above intelligence before its arrival in the north, where the Lady Margaret was anxiously expecting it.

Whether from the deep mortification of hope deferred, or from the endemic which raged through the island soon after, the Earl of Lennox was very ill—sick unto death, as reported to the Queen of England. Perhaps—for he was excessively wily—he made the most of his illness, to prevent being called upon to carry arms again into the bosom of his native land, and thus lose all chance of future grace, and the future possession of the extensive claims which he and his wife made on the best districts in Scotland. About the same time, the noble family of Lennox, apparently forsaking Temple Newsome and Castle Wressil, retired, for the benefit of the Earl's health, to the breezy downs of Settrington in the south-east of Yorkshire. Henceforth, Settrington House is the place whence all the Lady Margaret's letters and those of her husband will be found dated, while they were resident in the north. Change of scene was certainly requisite for a patient whose hypochondriacal tendencies

would never permit an affectionate wife to leave him alone. A circumstance occurred at this time which caused great subsequent trouble to the Lady Margaret, and all her family. The Sieur d'Aubigny, who had an appointment in the household of Mary of Lorraine, and fought on the other side of the question, happened to be taken prisoner by the English forces, when accompanying a Scottish incursion over the Borders. Finding himself in want of everything, he wrote to his brother Matthew, Earl of Lennox, to send some one to him with assistance. At first one Halbert, a Scot, was despatched, to learn of what he was in need.[1] Halbert went and came several times, and once carried the captive d'Aubigny "bills of Bankq"[2]—it may be supposed, bank-bills. Then the Earl of Lennox, willing to earn favour at the court of England by secret service, rather than by open violence against Scotland, sent word to Queen Mary "that his brother could tell much, if he but list [chose]"—that is, he could betray the counsels of his royal mistress Mary of Lorraine, as he himself had formerly done. The Lady Margaret sent to her royal cousin for letters from the Count de Feria, the resident ambassador of King Philip, and despatched them to d'Aubigny by a confidential messenger, one Arthur Lallard, whom she calls "the schoolmaster." D'Aubigny had fled from the temptation, having escaped from the English border to France. Arthur Lallard, however, brought away letters and articles d'Aubigny had left behind him, among which was a primer (a Roman Catholic prayer-book) which Lennox had used when he was young in France. The whole affair caused Lennox to be vehemently suspected by the Queen of England; at the same time his brother d'Aubigny was mistrusted by the court of France; while the result was great future tribulation to the Lady Margaret, who, owing to the mysterious illness of her lord, was the principal agent in the transaction.

In the course of the summer of 1558, such reports reached the ears of the dying Queen Mary of England, regarding the serious illness of the Earl of Lennox, that,

[1] State Paper Office—unedited MS. Domestic Records.
[2] Ibid—Deposition of Arthur Lallard.

knowing him to be a Roman Catholic, although a very halting one, she was troubled with anxiety for the good of his soul. The Queen thought that the attendance of one of her priests would greatly comfort and refresh her dear cousin Matthew. Accordingly, she despatched her precept to Dr Robinson, Dean of Durham, enjoining him to go and bestow ghostly counsel on that nobleman. "It hath pleased Almighty God," writes the Queen to the Dean, "to visit our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, the Earl of Lennox, with some sickness and infirmity of body, whereof we trust he might be much eased and relieved by the presence of some good, virtuous, and learned man. Forasmuch as we are very desirous to procure him some ease and help therein, if it may be, knowing your aptness for that purpose, we have thought good to require you to take the pain forthwith, on the receipt of these our letters, to repair unto the said Earl of Lennox, and to confer with him as you shall see occasion ministered unto you; using your accustomed wisdom in the giving unto him such godly and learned counsel, advice, and comfort, as to your discretion shall be thought most meet; wherein we pray you to travail to the best of your power, and to advertise us in the end what you shall have done in his behalf." The visit of the Roman Catholic Dean of Durham might be very acceptable to the Lady Margaret, her son Lord Darnley, and her priest Sir John Dicconson, likewise to John Elder, who had been a very orthodox Roman Catholic throughout the fiery reign of Queen Mary; but whether it proved such to the sick penitent, Earl Matthew, never could be reported to that Queen, for she was herself not long after summoned to her own account, and with her vanished the short-lived prosperity of the Lady Margaret and her family.

It excited surprise throughout Europe that Queen Mary made no attempt to supersede her sister Elizabeth, by the encouragement of her cousin Margaret's title. Some disappointment was perhaps experienced by the lady, who might have considered herself nearer and dearer to her cousin than the daughter of Anne Boleyn. It was well on all accounts, that, after sufficient private acknowledgment of

her sister's rights, Queen Mary had left the recognition of her successor entirely to the English Parliament then sitting.

The anticipations of the Lady Margaret must have been ominous of future troubles when her Protestant kinswoman, Queen Elizabeth, assumed the sceptre. But as for the Earl of Lennox, the proverb which affirms that it is an ill wind that blows no good was applicable enough to him. If he lost the benefits which his wife's Roman Catholic cousin and early friend, Queen Mary, had showered upon her and his son, he at the same time lost the surveillance of the ghostly superintendant whom that zealous relative had so pathetically entreated to comfort his soul and body by his visits and exhortations, and to report progress to her. The shortcomings of Earl Matthew would never have satisfied either Dr. Robinson or Queen Mary.

The Lady Margaret and her spouse hastened to greet the rising sun, and were received most graciously by their royal kinswoman, Elizabeth, on her accession.[1] The Queen listened sympathetically to the details of the Earl's illness, as related to her by his affectionate wife, and, having pondered on the symptoms, advised that he should never be left alone, and that, if possible, Margaret herself should always be in his company.[2] Both were also graciously treated by her Majesty, when they came to bid her farewell on their departure to Yorkshire. The Queen spoke most affectionately to her cousin Margaret at parting, telling her, if she was in any trouble or difficulty, to apply to no one but Cecil, who would directly attend to all her wishes.[3]

The Lady Margaret, in the distant wolds of Yorkshire, supposing that her religion was at least to be tolerated, continued her own Popish practices without reserve. The curtains of her bed were lined with images and relics,[4] pinned up by herself. The bed of her son, Lord Darnley,[5] was likewise guarded with the same spiritual artillery, fixed

[1] The Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox, to Cecil—Holograph Letter, State Paper Office, hitherto unedited.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Declaration of William Forbes—State Paper Office—Domestic Records, hitherto unedited.

[5] Ibid.

by the maternal hand. She was shriven duly by the priest called *little* Sir William, who dwelt by Malton. He said mass to her, Lord Darnley and his father being always present. Her beads she constantly carried, and she paid great reverence "to idollis," in the phraseology of her domestic spy, who has furnished her biographer with the account of these proceedings at Settrington House.[1]

Great changes took place throughout Europe after the death of Henry II. of France; and nowhere did the excitement more prevail than at the distant mansion of Settrington, where dwelt the second lady of the English royal family and her heir. Her niece, Mary, Queen of Scotland, had by that event become Queen-consort of France. She was young and gentle; she had never been personally offended by the house of Lennox: the Lady Margaret calculated on obtaining the restoration of her husband and son to their rank and estates in Scotland through the favour of her young royal relative. Accordingly she commissioned John Elder, her son's preceptor, to take a voyage to France, to deliver letters of congratulation from herself and her husband, to her royal niece.

The first difference between Queen Elizabeth and her cousin Margaret arose in consequence, for Sir Nicholas Throckmorton marked John Elder at the French Court, at the coronation of Francis II., and denounced him to Queen Elizabeth in terms which, avoiding all mention of his employers, yet indicated them sufficiently to give rise to their subsequent troubles. His accusations were very far-fetched and improbable. "Elder," said this diplomatist, "had carried out to Cardinal Lorraine the *patron* [pattern] of the persecutions of the Protestants by Bonner, Bishop of London, in Queen Mary's time. The same was given to Elder by Cardinal Pole, and he is as dangerous for the matters of England as any I know; wherefore it were well done that good regard were had to *such as he is acquainted with* in England,"—by which intimation the ambassador pointed out the Lennox family. The Earl was still an invalid,

[1] Declaration of William Forbes—State Paper Office—Domestic Records, hitherto unedited.

under the careful superintendence of his faithful Margaret, when he was roused by a visit from one of his old comrades, a Scotchman in the service of England, being Captain Borthwick, the celebrated reformer, who commanded a body of predatory cavalry on the Scottish border in the pay of the English. Borthwick made a detour to Yorkshire, according to his own account,[1] to open his mind to the Earl of Lennox as to the eligibility of deserting the interest of Queen Elizabeth, and joining the distressed Queen-Regent of Scotland, as Arran, the great rival of the claims of the Earl of Lennox, had allied himself with the Congregation. Lady Margaret prevented her husband from committing himself, as she suspected that her guest was an emissary of their enemies. Borthwick conceived a bitter grudge against her, and reported Lennox as wholly governed by his wife. Lady Margaret, however, permitted their visitor to see her promising heir, Lord Darnley; and greatly was he impressed by his appearance and manners. The interview with the family of Lennox and Captain Borthwick took place in the summer of 1559, at Settrington House.[2] Borthwick proceeded on his way to London, and, as soon as he could find an opportunity, he obtained a stolen interview with Noailles, the ambassador there from Francis II. and Mary Queen of Scotland and France. Borthwick complained to Noailles of the reserve of the Earl of Lennox — whose intentions he said he could not fathom to a certainty, because he was so entirely governed by his wife. But he extolled his son, the young Darnley; and the expressions he used regarding him are very remarkable, because they cast a strong light on the causes of alarm and jealousy with which this young Prince was regarded by the possessor of the throne of England. "Young Darnley is," he said "the nearest person in the regal succession to both realms—by

[1] Despatch of Noailles to French Ambassador, November 4, 1559.

[2] Settrington, from which Matthew, Earl of Lennox, dates all his letters at the accession of Elizabeth, is in Yorkshire; and "Settrington House is now in the possession of Henry Willoughby, Esq., a relative of Willoughby, Lord Middleton, of Wollaton House." Nottingham in 1835.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1835.

right of his father to Scotland, if Mary Stuart, then Queen of France and Scotland, has no issue; likewise he is next heir to the throne of England through his mother, Margaret, Countess of Lennox."[1] The French ambassador, finding Borthwick an inflexible Protestant, trusted him as little as the Lady Margaret had done.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton wrote to Queen Elizabeth, from the Court of France, an account "how a young gentleman, an Englishman or a Scottishman, who had no beard, was received with great distinction by the King and Queen of France and Scotland, Francis II. and Mary Stuart, at Chambord, where they were keeping their Christmas festival. The interviews of the young stranger were long and private, both with the King and with the Duke de Guise. At his departure he received a gratuity of one thousand crowns."[2] Darnley appears to have been the person indicated. Lord Darnley was fifteen the next January; but his remarkably tall stature might render the above description answerable to him. The mysterious young gentleman, according to Throckmorton, went and returned by Dieppe, the port usually made by John Elder when he carried messages to France from his patroness, the Lady Margaret.[3]

A proposal of political alliance for the recall of Lennox to Scotland arrived at Settrington about the same period, couched in the following terms:—

"JAMES STEWART OF CARDONALD TO THE EARL OF LENNOX.

"My Lord,—After my most hearty *commendams* of servaunce, plesit your Lordship to be remembered the last time that your Lordship's servant, Master Naskit, [meaning Nisbet or Nesbot,] was in the country, I advertised your Lordship and my Lady's Grace your best remedy that I could find touching your Lordship's affairs in this country, of the which I had no response again, which made belief, as it show indeed, that your Lordship would not proceed no farther at that time; and now the occasion presents that your Lordship may with great honour come to your own."

The writer is endeavouring here to persuade the Earl to return and settle on his own patrimony; it may be, per-

[1] Harleian MS., 287, p. 101. No date, but it agrees with these events.
[2] Forbes Papers — Letter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth.
[3] Forbes Papers—Killigrew to Queen Elizabeth, p. 288.

haps, to accept the friendly terms offered by Mary of Lorraine, as the date, Dec. 21, 1559, is quite in accordance with the overtures made by her and the communication of the French ambassador with Nisbet. But Sir Walter Scott, the editor of the Sadler Papers, considered it a feeler from the Congregation Lords. If so, it shows that Lennox, according to his usual double-faced policy, was in secret treaty with both parties, and meant to take the most advantageous terms, irrespective of principles. The Laird of Cardonald goes on to represent the advantages the exiled Earl may gain, by returning at a crisis which appears peculiarly favourable to his gaining, "besides money, other great preys." This inducement savours certainly of a Lord of Congregation argument, "that his Lordship can scarcely fail in; besides," continues the keen west-countryman—

"The great revenge that ye might have of your enemies, which time presently if your Lordship contents not ye sall never come to it again, considering the great occasion it offers of itself. And if your Lordship think it expedient to have the matter dressed, let me knawe your mind either by write or by some special servant whom your Lordship gives credence to, and I trust in God to bring the matter to sic pass that your Lordship sall be contented therewith. Referring the rest to your wisdom and discretion, for, as to my part, I sal be evermore ready to do your Lordship the best service I can that your Lordship can require of me. This, after my most humble commendations to my Lady Grace, my Lord Danely [Darnley,] I pray God have your Lordship and them both in his keeping." [1]

Cardonald was a Renfrewshire gentleman, who lived in the neighbourhood of the castle of Darnley, situated between Glasgow and Paisley. It now forms a part of the estate of Sir John Maxwell, Bart., of Pollock. The castle, of which only a ruinous heap of stones, covered with brambles and wild-flowers, remains, was pleasantly situated on a pretty miniature mountain, rising in the midst of a fruitful valley, and partly encircled by a bright little stream that supplied the place of a moat, and formed the boundary of the garden terrace. One of the out-buildings, probably the grange, is still in existence, having an escutcheon entablature over one of the doors, with the arms of Stuart,

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 655-6.

and the initials L. S. and D. S., meaning "Lennox Stuart and Darnley Stuart."

Great caution was used by the Earl and the Lady Margaret in their responses, at least, to the political correspondence they thus received on all sides. They seem to have distrusted every one but the French ambassador, to whom they despatched their French agent. Nesbit wrote, imploring of Francis and Mary the grace of remission of all offences, and restoration to their rank and estates in Scotland, with the offer of surrendering their sons, Darnley and the little Lord Charles Stuart, as hostages for their fidelity. How Lennox could offer his children, after having caused the slaughter of so many hostages, seems strange. Nesbit was likewise charged with their pedigrees and genealogies, in order to manifest the joint claims of their eldest son as presumptive successor of England, Scotland, and likewise of the estates of Douglas and Hamilton. Queen Elizabeth and Cecil were incensed by these proceedings, although Lennox had sent by Nesbit a letter to Cecil,[1] submitting his future movements to the decision of Queen Elizabeth, entreating that the Queen would be good and gracious lady to him and her cousin his wife. He asked her to give them leave (as her sister the late Queen Mary had done) to cross the Scottish border, for the recovery of their estates and living in Scotland, as no one could or would do her Majesty better service than they, if they were once there; and that he was waiting to send a servant to the Queen-Regent of Scotland until he could get *licence* (leave) from Queen Elizabeth. In confirmation, he enclosed a letter sent him from his brother, the Bishop of Caithness, by an intimate friend of his, the Lord of Gaston. Neither the Queen nor Cecil manifested any very gracious intentions. The Privy Council warned the Duke of Norfolk to take heed of Lennox and his wife, and neither to permit their crossing the Border, nor to suffer any Scotchman to cross it to them.[2] The fraternal epistle enclosed by the Earl of Lennox con-

[1] Haynes' State Papers.
[2] Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk, January 1559-60.

tained the long looked for invitation from the Queen-Regent of Scotland (then sore pressed by the forces of Elizabeth, and the Lords of the Congregation) for Lennox and his lady to return to Scotland, promising the one the disputed rank and estates of Arran, and the other the inheritance of her late father, Angus.[1] The dying Queen-Regent had seen, when too late, her error in rejecting Margaret's petition for the reversal of Lennox's outlawry. Master Nesbit's mission by no means met with the approbation of Elizabeth, who committed him to the Tower,[2] — a declaration of hostility which gave no little alarm to the Lady Margaret and her spouse. The Earl wrote in the beginning of Feb. 1559-60 from Settrington to Cecil, apologising for his servant Nesbit having misbehaved and incurred punishment. Again he wrote, Feb. 28, acknowledging a letter from Cecil, adding that he had himself received information from France, which aggravated Nesbit's crime. He had been surprised at his agent's conduct, but was conscious of his own uprightness.

Meantime a considerable progress in the work of mischief-making, between the royal lady on the throne and her kinswoman in the north of England, had been effected by the spies that each encouraged. There was a lady about the person of Elizabeth who sent down to Settrington tidings from time to time, by Hugh Allan, of all going on there, "but always by credence; for as neither durst write, the ladies did credit him by *towng* [tongue]"—a mode of carrying on gossiping correspondence by means of a word-of-mouth newsmonger, which must have given rise to complications of scandals too numerous almost for imagination. No wonder that reports of very odd doings were elicited by the Star Chamber, and laid to the Lady Margaret's charge, when such was her manner of gaining Court intelligence.

While Lady Lennox was thus kept in a state of excitement, by the marvellous rumours which were ever in circulation at the Court of her cousin Elizabeth, domesticated spies under her own roof were busying themselves in

[1] Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk, January 1559-60.
[2] State Paper Office—Domestic Records.

watching and recording her most trifling words and actions. "I know," said one of these false servants,[1] "she suffered a *fowll* [fool] in her house to rail uncorrected on the Queen's Majesty, and upon my Lord Robert [Leicester.]" The spies were, in fact, employed by Lady Margaret's great enemy, Lord Robert Dudley. "I have heard her say," deposed one of his agents, "that either Queen Mary I. or the Queen's Majesty, Elizabeth, behoved to be a bastard. As for Queen Mary, all the world knew that she was lawful; and for herself, she desired nothing but her right, which she knew God would send her one day. I know the Earl of Westmoreland of all women beareth her his heart, and but flatters *this here* to serve his turn. I know the schoolmaster, Arthur Lallard, made a commentary upon Nostradamus' Prognostications, to the pleasure of my lady, with which he went to my Lord Westmoreland, who did give him ten crowns with great entertainment and thanks. My Lady Margaret looked 'that the highest should have declined,'—Arthur Lallard having construed Nostradamus's oracle to mean the death of Queen Elizabeth, whereas it turned out to be herself and Powlis steeple."[2] Now to Powlis steeple hangs a tale, not the least curious circumstance in this remarkable budget. The spire of St Paul's was destroyed by lightning, as supposed,[3] in the first year of Elizabeth. Lady Margaret gathered the information from her Court gossip, "that six of my Lord Robert's men, with divers of the Queen's guard, were suddenly struck dead in St James' Park the day that Powlis steeple was burnt." The Lady Lennox certainly bore no good-will to the aspiring house of Dudley; according to the testimony of the spy, she railed upon Lord Robert and his blood, calling them "traitor's birds," and said "that Lord Robert caused his wife to be killed."

Just at the same time occurs, as connected with the domestic history at Settrington, the name of a statesman

[1] State Paper Office—Domestic Records—Declaration by Forbes.

[2] Declaration by William Forbes.

[3] An aged mason subsequently confessed on his death-bed, that this accident occurred in consequence of his carelessness in having left a pan of coals burning when he went home from his work.

unknown to general history, yet one of the most active agents in the Government of Queen Elizabeth. He was Francis Yaxley,[1] supposed to be the secretary of her all-powerful favourite, Lord Robert Dudley. Francis Yaxley must likewise have had a place in the Court of Wards, of which Cecil was Master, for several young ladies domesticated in the family of the Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox, at Settrington, corresponded with him, calling themselves "his charges." The spy, William Forbes —the only person, by the way, in the household of the Lady Margaret, excepting Tom Bishop, who testified evil reports against her—was most earnestly set to ruin Yaxley. Nevertheless there is full reason to believe that the gay courtier-statesman was working side by side with him in the mine which was destined to explode under the feet of Margaret, her Lord, and her children, and scatter their highest hopes in ruin; for the name of Francis Yaxley may be noted in our archives long after that period, and he appears basking in the very sunshine of prosperity, therefore the following denunciation by his fellow-labourer proved of none effect. "I know," says Forbes, "that my Lady Margaret loveth not the Queen's Majesty, and that Francis Yaxley should have gone into France this last year for her affairs. The said Yaxley sent her word of all things by Hugh Allaine, and wrote at sundry times letters, which she hath burnt, and also he did send my Lord Darnley a *fair twrkest in a toiking*,"—a very mysterious missive in Forbes's orthography, but resolvable into the pleasant explanation of a fair turquoise as a token, or *gage d'amitié*. Hugh Allaine, or Allan, has already been introduced as the Lady Margaret's accredited newsmonger, who travelled perpetually between Settrington and London, bringing her verbal tidings of the Court from

[1] The name of Francis Yaxley occurs frequently in letters in the State Paper Office. Lord Robert Dudley, Aug. 1559, thanks him for his letter and present, both of which he takes in good part. The Yaxleys were connected with the Sulyards of Suffolk, and with Mildenhall Manor. He is the general man of business in all Leicester's concerns, and many of Cecil's, from 1558, for twenty years.

various intelligencers, (this Francis Yaxley being one;) the spy Forbes concealed himself in his secret nook, and listened, whenever any of these persons arrived, to all the Lady Margaret heard—and an odd collection it was, as the paper before us proves.

The Lord of Gaston, before mentioned as a personal friend of the Lennox family, had been despatched from the French court, apparently with the tidings that the death of the young King of France must inevitably take place shortly. An extraordinary notice concerning the same event occurs in the information of the domestic spy at Settrington. It is here transcribed in the very words of the deponent, that readers may draw their own conclusions,—"I know the despatch of the Lord of Gaston, after the death of the last French King, with letters to France to the Queen of Scots [Mary Stuart] from my Lady Lennox, [my lord her husband writing in French,] *by my Lord Darnley delivered at Orleans to the Queen*, brought answer of her hand in French."[1] All the world knows that Francis II. died at Orleans, December 1560, and that Mary Stuart, his widow, Queen-regnant of Scotland, remained some time at Orleans; but the fact that her cousin Darnley delivered his mother's letters to her, and brought autograph French letters back in return, has never been implied previously by any historical writer. The frequent going and coming of agents between the French court and Settrington House, and the remarkable passage just quoted from the letter of the English ambassador, Throckmorton, descriptive of the previous visit of the young English or Scottish gentleman—all considered in connection—appear conclusive evidence of the secret correspondence and meeting between the royal cousins long before they met in Scotland. It is positively declared by a Scottish documentary historian,[2] that the marriage of Mary Stuart and her cousin Darnley was agreed upon between her and her aunt, soon after the death of Francis II.

[1] State Paper Office—Domestic Records—Deposition of William Forbes, edited for the first time, 1851. [2] Chalmers's Mary, Queen of Scots.

The rage of Queen Elizabeth, and the violent measures she took, are scarcely borne out by any other species of provocation given by the Lennox family. Of course the mass of aggravating gossip supplied from Settrington by Lord Robert Dudley's spies had its due effect in irritating the royal mind.

While all the spies and tale-bearers, from and about Settrington House, were hourly employed in mischief-making, it is a matter of curious speculation to watch the Lady Margaret sending forth from the wilds and wolds of Yorkshire her trusted messengers to the courts of Europe, unconscious of the wily witness who lurked unseen behind the tapestry, or was ensconced in some panelled recess in his lady's secret bower, where she fancied herself in the deepest privacy with her confidential agent. Observe his own account of himself, recently dug from the mines of our national archives, hitherto unknown until one of its learned guardians[1] elicited it for the use of this biography. "I stood where I heard when my lady gave Rauffe Lacy money secretly, saying, 'If she had been better stored, she should have had more, but he should not *lacik* [lack,] and so she had written.'"[2] Ralph Lacy was the courier whom the Lady Margaret was despatching with missives to France and to Spain, with letters to the Count de Feria, Philip II.'s late resident minister in England, and to her own old friend and companion in the household of the Princess Mary, his English wife, Jane Dormer. "I went myself," pursues Forbes, "with the Lord of Gaston about Whitsunday last [1561] into Scotland, and he told me all should be well for my Lord Darnley with the Queen [Mary Stuart.] I brought the answer of his letters from all the noblemen there in[to] England; and from my Lord Setton [Seton,] who bid me say by tongue"—that is, he sent a verbal message to the Lady Margaret by this estimable messenger—"he would not only spend his living in setting forth my Lord Darnley, but also would spend his blood."[3]

[1] Robert Lemon, Esq., F.A.S., to whom our earnest thanks are due.

[2] Deposition of William Forbes concerning the Lady Lennox, 9th May 1562. State Paper Office—Domestic Records.

[3] Ibid.

Between Settrington House and the Court of Elizabeth there were more sources of information than its lady suspected. The Lady Margaret had several young ladies in her household who were wards of Francis Yaxley, and who, at the same time, filled the station of ladies of honour about her person. They acknowledged her princessly rank by speaking of her as "her Grace." The two eldest of these girls were Mabel Fortescue and Mary Silles or Shelly. The latter was cousin to Francis Yaxley, but it was Mabel who corresponded with him. Some of her letters are extant at the State Paper Office,[1] commencing "My Good Governor."[2] Although the young lady writes a fair hand, she has employed her lady's own secretary[3] to write the body of the letter, which is pretty enough, begging her gentle governor to find out why her mother is angry with her. She thanks him for the presents he has sent to Settrington, and all the good turns he has done her. The letter is perfectly innocent of all political connection, excepting the fact of being written from her Grace's house, named Settrington, in Yorkshire. Mabel signs herself Yaxley's obedient "charge;" and tells him, in her postscript, that all his other "charges" would be commended unto him, and chiefly his cousin, Mary Silles, or Shelly; and, as a lady's mind is proverbially in this important addenda to her epistles, Mabel Fortescue adds, "I pray you, good Governor, (to finish my letter withal,) to send me a pair or two of your London gloves, for we have great penury of them in these parts." In a former letter, written the preceding year, when Francis Yaxley sent Lord Darnley the turquoise for a token, Mabel and Mary send their thanks to their good Governor for his gentle gifts of perfumed gloves. The present letter throws light on the way of life at "her Grace's house, called Settrington;" showing that, after the demolition of convents, and in the absence of boarding-schools, the noble mistress protected a

[1] State Paper Office, April 10. [2] Ibid.

[3] It is in the same hand in which one or two of the Lady Margaret's prison letters were afterwards written. There were several secretaries in the Lennox establishment—Bishop, Fowler, Robinson, Elder, Lallard, and Sir John Dicconson: the three last Roman Catholic priests.

number of young ladies who appertained to the Court of Wards, of which Cecil held the lucrative station of Master, and Francis Yaxley some office entitling him to the appellation of "good governor," and "gentle governor," from her fair inmates. As lately as the time of Queen Anne, a comedy[1] represents a guardian addressing his ward by the term "charge," and by the pet name of "chargey,"—so little had customs altered from the days when the young lady-wards at Settrington House called themselves the charges of Francis Yaxley.

In the autumn after the death of the Queen-Regent of Scotland, Morton, Glencairn, and Maitland of Lethington being despatched by the Lords of the Congregation on a mission of thanks to Queen Elizabeth, Morton thought proper to favour his cousin, the Lady Margaret, with a visit at her Yorkshire seat, and during a temporary absence of her lord, succeeded in beguiling her into a renunciation of all claim and title to the earldom of Angus, in favour of his nephew and ward Archibald; but this, being done without the consent of her husband, Earl Matthew, was illegal, and treated by the said Matthew as a nullity.[2]

The time now approached when the young Queen of Scotland prepared to return to her native realm. Great anxiety was experienced by the princely matron at Settrington, for she was well assured of the fact, which historians only speak of as a report, that the ships of Queen Elizabeth were out cruising, with commission to capture Mary Stuart, and bring her in a prisoner. At last the newsmonger of Lady Lennox brought the tidings to Settrington that the young Queen had successfully escaped the English fleet, and landed happily in Scotland. The domestic spy was near at hand, lurking in his hiding-place, to note the demeanour of the Lady Margaret. "I know," he says, "she sat herself down, held up her hands, and gave God thanks for preserving the Scottish Queen from the Queen's Majesty's ships when she passed to Scotland, saying, 'How God preserves that Princess at all times!'"[3] This thanks-

[1] The Busy Body.

[2] Hume of Godscroft's House of Douglas, p. 281.

[3] State Paper MS.

giving appears to have given greater offence to Queen Elizabeth than any other of Margaret's peccadilloes. The Lady Margaret and her lord now sent messengers to Scotland, with greetings and remembrances to their royal niece; but, fearing to excite the jealousy of Elizabeth, pretended that it was only letters to the Lord d'Aubigny, brother to the Earl of Lennox, who accompanied Queen Mary to Scotland. But the indefatigable Forbes had provided against that subterfuge, by his declaration that he himself brought news to Settrington before Queen Mary left France, that d'Aubigny was not to accompany her. D'Aubigny, however, sent a present by Hugh Allan of a book of emblems to his nephew, Lord Darnley. Nevertheless the Lady Margaret and her lord thought proper to affect sending a messenger into Scotland to meet d'Aubigny there, on the old excuse of inducing him to plead with the young Queen for the restoration of their inheritance. Arthur Lallard, the conjuror who had construed Nostradamus to the satisfaction of the noble matron of Settrington and her friend the Earl of Westmoreland, was the messenger sent on this occasion; and, for a conjuror, he seems to have acted with great tact and discretion. He declared "that when he came to Edinburgh he found his lord's brother, M. d'Aubigny, had not arrived with Queen Mary. But as he was loth to take such a journey for nothing, he made out that the youngest brother of Lennox, Monsieur Gorland or Gonhart, was in the train of Queen Mary, and in attendance on her person; and that he, Lallard, could be presented to her Majesty by him, when she mounted her horse to take her progress from Stirling Castle to St Johnston." The opportunity seems to have been rather a sudden one; but Arthur Lallard promptly seized it. "I went thither,"[1] he says, "and there, my lord's brother standing by, and all Queen Mary's ladies surrounding her, I spoke out, making my lord and my lady's humble devoirs to her. I let her understand my lord's mind regarding his estate, and also his request concerning his case being laid before Parliament. Then Queen Mary, being ready to mount, answered me,

[1] State Paper Office MS., hitherto unedited.

through Gonhart, thus:—'That she was but newly returned into her realm, therefore she could not give me such an answer as she would; but all she might do for my lord, and my lady, her aunt, she would do at proper time and place, desiring my lady [Margaret] to be always her good aunt, as indeed she knew her for to be, with remembrance to them both.'[1] These words spoken, she went straight to her horse, and rode with her ladies and train towards St Johnston; and I returned to Edinburgh, and then to my lord and lady, to whom I related my answer just as I had it."[2]

Very manly and straightforward is Arthur the schoolmaster or conjuror's mode of telling what happened to him. He forms an utter contrast to the malignant listener, William Forbes, who thus betrays the cause of his spite against the Lady Margaret:—"There hath gone from here continually into Scotland my own man, one Kelle, Thome Falconer, one Rigg, a footman, who is at present in Scotland. I know she [the Lady Margaret] advertised the Queen there of all things she had intelligence of, and also that she wrote to the Queen Mary against myself,"—in confirmation of which he appeals to Lord Gray, the commander of the English forces in Scotland. A ruse had probably been played on Forbes, in this instance, to sharpen his malice against the Lady Lennox, causing him to work her ruin out of vengeance; for she seems quite unconscious of his hatred, and employed him, by his own account, in turn with her other trusted messengers, although his mind had been thus poisoned against her. In fact, Forbes's rancour runs through his declaration of the Lady Margaret's doings at Settrington, unto the last word, ever and anon returning to the accusation of magic which he had brought against her, thus:—"She frequenteth, by messengers, witches, and hath one in her house, that for this two years hath told her that she shall be in great trouble, and yet do well enough, for she hopeth for a day the which I trust she shall never see, her doings being espied betimes. And, finally, she loveth neither God nor the Queen's Majesty [Elizabeth,] nor yet your

[1] State Paper Office MS., hitherto unedited. [2] Ibid.

honour.[1] This climax was worked up for the propitiation of Cecil, who had the pleasure of perusing the paper first, which there is little doubt was afterwards handed to his royal mistress. Few eyes have probably rested upon it since.

The date of Lady Margaret's summons from Yorkshire, to answer for such enormities, has not taken its place in history. Sufficient time, however, was suffered to elapse for Arthur Lallard to go and come from his mission to Mary Queen of Scots, after her landing. No one, not even a Star-Chamber inquisitor, could decently declare a prisoner guilty for a benediction—an aunt for thanking God at the safe arrival of her niece from a perilous voyage! But an authorised messenger out of England, conferring with a sovereign power lately at war with Elizabeth, its Queen, was a different circumstance. In addition to this offence, Forbes swore to having heard the Lady Margaret declare "that the Lord Robert Dudley had killed his wife."[2]

According to the Lady Margaret's own pen, the troubles of herself and her lord did not occur until Christmas 1561; and then it seems, from the same source, that the Queen's messengers came to Settrington and mercilessly pounced on the whole covey — lady, lord, and children, priests, schoolmasters, secretaries, wards, waiting-maids, conjurors, and serving-men. Very piteous were the lamentations of poor Lady Margaret, not so much regarding their forced journey, as to who was to pay the expenses of it. "Money," observed the lady, "was called for on all sides, for the travelling expenses of my family and servants, and for their maintenance as prisoners." Whatsoever pecuniary difficulties occurred by the way, it is certain the whole caravan of state captives safely accomplished their journey. Some were deposited at the royal prison of the Gate House, Westminster, and the Lennox family at Lady Margaret's own suite of chambers in Westminster Palace — with the exception of Lord Darnley, who, not liking the aspect of affairs, very coolly

[1] Endorsed by Cecil—"William Forbes's, *contra* Lady Lennox."—State Paper Office MS.

[2] Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. The wife was Amy Robsart.

walked off into London, where he succeeded in concealing himself.[1] There can be no doubt but that the engagement of Darnley with the other island Queen was the real offence given by his mother and father to the Government. In fact, Queen Elizabeth and Cecil had dived into the scheme as soon as concocted. Very earnestly had they kept watch for the purpose of detecting the Lady Margaret in agitating, on her son's account, any of the springs and snares connected with that royal marriage-law which had been devised by her uncle Henry VIII., for her own especial castigation during her luckless courtship with Lord Thomas Howard. Still there was something too ridiculous in putting the young Lord Darnley on the same footing with the maiden Princesses of the royal house of Tudor, when he had just given good proof of his high spirit, by eschewing the prison-chambers prepared for him. After he had been sought for days in vain, the Queen's vengeance fell on his mother. She was ordered to keep her chamber at Westminster, and her husband was given into the custody of the Master of the Rolls.[2] Both Earl Matthew and his faithful Lady Margaret were thus separated. She entreated permission to see the Queen, but any interview was denied.

Finally, the Earl of Lennox was committed to the Tower, and subjected to close and hard durance; and the Lady Margaret was constituted a prisoner under the charge of Sir Richard and Lady Sackville,[3] the cousins of Queen Elizabeth on the Boleyn side—the maternal kindred of the Queen being usually chosen by her as especial gaolers for her kindred on the side of royalty. The Lady Margaret had little Lord Charles, and another child, not named by history or documents, to share her prison, which was at Sheen[4]—probably in the same old Charterhouse which had recently been the appanage of her cousin, lately deceased, the Lady Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk.

Those historians who dilate on the Protestantism of the

[1] Udal. Dr Jewel likewise mentions Darnley's escape. [2] Udal.
[3] State Paper Office—Domestic Records—Lady Margaret's own Letters, presently to be quoted. [4] Ibid.

Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox, and that of her son, Lord Darnley, have written in ignorance of the facts. The contemporaries of the Lennox family knew better what they were, as will be proved by the words of one of the most illustrious fathers of the English Church, Dr Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, who thus briefly recapitulates the current events of the day to his friends in Zurich, he having recently returned from his exile there, during the Marian persecution :—

"There is a certain noble lady, called the Lady Margaret, a niece of Henry VIII., and one who is beyond measure hostile to religion (the Protestant,) more violent even than Queen Mary herself. The Crown, it is surmised, will descend to her son (Lord Darnley,) a young man of about eighteen, should anything unhappily happen to Elizabeth, which God forbid! The husband of this woman (the Scottish Lennox) has within these few days been committed to the Tower. The son, they say, is either spirited away by his mother, or has taken refuge in Scotland. There are, as is usually the case, various reports concerning him. The Queen of Scotland is, you know, unmarried, so that a matrimonial alliance may possibly be formed between them." [1]

[1] Zurich Letters, First Series, p. 102—Jewel to Peter Martyr, Feb. 7, 1561-2.

THE LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS

COUNTESS OF LENNOX

CHAPTER IV.

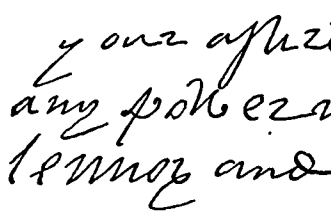
SUMMARY

Lady Margaret pleads for her lord sick in the Tower—Is perplexed by the Star Chamber—Her legitimacy questioned—Indignant letters to Cecil—Taunted by Queen Elizabeth—Margaret's pecuniary distresses—Assumed anxiety for the Queen's illness—Prays that her lord may share her prison—Her request granted—Her letters to Cecil regarding poverty—Liberated with her lord and children—Her lord permitted to go to Scotland—Her presents and messages to Queen Mary—Stands godmother with Queen Elizabeth to Cecil's babe—Pride in her son Darnley—Obtains leave for his journey to Scotland—Margaret gives offence to Elizabeth—Hurried from Settrington—Forced to leave her little son Charles there—Put into restraint—Approaching marriage of her son and Queen Mary—Lady Margaret sent to the Tower—Her husband's letters to her in the Tower—Fac-simile of inscription there—Lists of her clothing and furniture, &c.—Tender letter of her husband from Scotland—It is intercepted—She remains incarcerated in the Tower.

Poor Lady Margaret remained quiet and passive in her state of durance at Sheen, as if stunned with the weight of her afflictions, until the complaints of her lord, from his woeful prison-house in the Tower, roused her to affectionate exertion for his benefit. The Earl of Lennox was much oppressed in mind, laden at once with bodily illness and hypochondria—which maladies were not likely to be much ameliorated by incarceration in the Tower of London. In the fifth month of her husband's imprisonment, the Lady Margaret commenced a series of remonstrances, meant to be communicated to Queen Elizabeth, but addressed to Cecil:—

"SHENE, *May* 14, 1562.

"GOOD MASTER SEKRETORY.[1]—After my right hearty commendations, this is to require of you some comfort concerning my husband's liberty, either to be clearly out of the Tower, which should be most to my comfort, or else at the least some more liberty within it. I have staid in troubling of you, for that my hope was to have had some good news. For that I myself do know the Queen's Majesty to be of so gracious, so good, and gentle nature, that if her Highness had been moved for my lord and me, she would have had some pity of us ere now, considering the long time of trouble we have had, which has been since Christmas. Wherefore I shall beseech you to move her Majesty in this my humble and lowly petition, and that my lord may come to his answer again, for that ye sent me word by Fowler that he stood to the denial of all things laid to his charge. I trust he will not contend or deny anything of truth, and in so doing my hope is her Majesty will be his good and gracious lady; *who* [for he] never meant to willingly to deserve the contrary. As knoweth God who have you in his keeping. From Shene, the xiiii of May,



Endorsed—"To my very frend, Sr Wyllam Cycel, Knyght, Chefe Sekretory to the Queen's Majesty, Master of her Wards, and one of her Hyghnes most honourable Prevy Consall."

The afflicted lady waited one week for her answer; but having received nothing but some enigmatical sentences from Cecil, by no means, as she deemed, apropos to her requests, she replied, May 21, with more high spirit and eloquent remonstrance than was perhaps prudent, considering in whose gripe she, her husband and little ones, were detained. "I have," says Lady Margaret,[2] "received your answer by my man Fowler, but nothing touching the petitions in my letter, for that ye say there is new matter both against my lord and me, which, when it shall please the Queen's Majesty, I shall be glad to understand, not doubting, with God's grace, but both my lord and I shall

[1] State Paper Office—Domestic. From the original holograph, hitherto unpublished.

[2] From the original holograph, State Paper Office, May 21, 1562—Sheen —hitherto unpublished.

be able to acquit ourselves, if right may take place—that our accusers may be brought before us. I assure you I am weary of this life, and would fain receive some comfort from her Majesty; for, as methink, we have had punishment enough for a great offence. I cannot but choose trouble you with this letter, for that I have no kin, and not many friends to sue for me; for, if I had, I should have received some comfortable answer ere now. Wherefore I shall desire you to be my friend in being a means to the Queen's Majesty of yourself, for my lord and me, for that I think her Highness will better give ear to you than to my letter. Good Master Sekretory, God knoweth my innocency and uprightness, and my lord's also, towards her Majesty and realm, howsoever our doings is otherwise taken. But my sure trust is, that her Majesty will have remorse of me, her poor kinswoman, who, never meaning to offend her, thinketh myself not worthy of this her Majesty's indignation and punishment. Notwithstanding, as her Highness pleasure is I am content; but I shall pray to Him who is the champion and defender of the innocent to inspire her Majesty's heart towards me according to the good nature I know her Majesty to be of. Declaring this unto her shall bind my lord and me to be yours assuredly."

This appeal brought the Star-Chamber inquisitors to active movement; and, accordingly, Cecil was instructed to examine the Lady Lennox on the declaration, or rather denunciation, of her domestic spy Forbes, with whose information the reader is already well acquainted. In Cecil's handwriting still remains a sybilline leaf of memorandums regarding the various sayings and doings which had occurred in the Lennox family, at Settrington House, for the last two years. Certainly, if the Lady Margaret had cast her eyes over it, she must have thought it a state paper emanating from the Sphynx herself. Half of the matters deposed against her by her false servant were mere words uttered in the security of her private cabinet, unaware of the lurking-place where the secret witness stood to record against her all she said, or looked, or gesticulated, or even prayed. If forgotten as soon as uttered,

how perplexed she must have been by such notes as these,—"A foole in the house, Gaston, Lillyard, Hugh Allyn, Lacy, Scots Queen."[1] Then the queries—among others, that marvellous one, couched in quaint language, of—"When Poulis steeple was *brint*, what report was made to her of a certain number of men stricken with sudden death in St James's Park?" But there were others of more portentous political signification, as—"What communication hath she had of the bastardy of Queen Mary, and the Queen that now is [Elizabeth,] and what words hath she uttered thereon against the Queen?"[2] And—"What moved her to say that, touching the right to the Crown, she would give place to none of the rest?" Again—"What message was brought to her from the Lord Seton, concerning his furtherance in setting forth of my Lord Darnley?" This last query threw some light on the jealousies smouldering in the royal breast against the son of Lady Margaret, and at the same time Cecil informed her that a Star-Chamber investigation was examining the legality of her claiming to be considered a legitimate descendant from a Princess of the royal line of Tudor—such investigation having indeed been proceeding all the time of Lady Margaret's durance at Sheen, the principal witness against her birth-right being Alexander Pringle,[3] one apparently furnished to her injury by her false kinsman, James, Earl of Morton. But all led to the result that Henry VIII.'s divorces, and those of his sister Margaret Tudor, involved their offspring in embarrassments so similar, that Queen Elizabeth found insurmountable difficulties while pursuing her jealous vengeance in attempting to impugn her cousin Margaret's legitimacy, which she could not do without drawing popular attention to the doubts touching her own.[4]

Both Margaret, and perhaps her royal kinswoman, knew that the Berwick herald, Harry Ray[5]—still alive—could testify that Queen Margaret owned the legality of her

[1] State Paper Office—Interrogatories of Lady Lennox, in Cecil's hand, May 25, 1562—hitherto unedited.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Haynes' Papers.
[4] Guthrie's History of England, vol. iii. p. 240.
[5] See Life of Margaret Tudor in this series.

marriage with the Earl of Angus, and the consequent legitimacy of their only child, on her deathbed. It is evident that Queen Elizabeth soon gave up her attack as untenable. It was nevertheless a severe aggravation of Lady Margaret's other troubles, to find an investigation of such fatal tendency against all the hopes of her young aspiring son, Darnley, proceeding in the midst of other persecutions. She appears to have first become aware of it May 25, when Cecil came to open his budget of intelligence gathered from her domestic incendiaries. She paused in order to stifle the ardour of expression natural to the feminine mind, on the discovery of an underhand system of malignant injury. It was not until the 30th of May that she thus discussed the matter in a letter remarkable for its admirable good sense. "At your last being with me at Shene," observes the captive lady to Cecil, "ye opened so many new and strange matters, that I am, as I told you, desirous to see them that made the same; and if in case [it] be that they may not come so far as Shene, I pray you let me take the pains to come to some of your chambers in the Court, where I may answer for myself. Being so far off, I find the old proverb true, 'Long ways, long lies.' An' *in that* her Majesty will in no wise I come to her presence, ye shall be sure I will not seek to displease her therein, but shall content myself to be a suitor amongst you, my Lords of the Council. For being here so far off, and in her Highness' displeasure, as all men knows, no doubt but I shall have some of the worst sort to speak like themselves, against me, in hope to win reward whereof they stand [in] need. Otherwise ye may keep me here still with new inventions every day, which *should* [would] redouble the wrong I have already. I assure you, Master Sekretory, it is a great grief to me, and the greatest that I ever had, to perceive the little love and affection that her Majesty bears me, and specially in one matter that I thought her Majesty would rather have fortified and strengthen[ed] me in, than to have given hearing or sufferance to such a manifest wrong and injury against her poor kinswoman." Here the Lady Margaret alludes to the

inquisition proceeding in the Star Chamber,[1] the object of which was to make her out the illegitimate daughter of Queen Margaret and the Earl of Angus; and very lofty is the spirit which thus comments upon such proceedings, although the language used is temperate, even to quietude:—"But even as God hath made me, so I am, lawful daughter to the Queen of Scots and the Earl of Angus, which none alive is able to make me otherwise, without doing wrong. Master Sekretory, I do perceive that Fowler, my man, has commandment [from the Star Chamber] not to come out of London. I trust he hath not offended, but in his absence I shall have want of him in my house[hold,] such as it is, for I have no other here to look to it. Wherefore I shall both thank you for your gentle using of him, and desire you that he may be coming and going, and he shall be always ready at commandment."[2] Such manifestations of an unbroken and dauntless spirit were not likely to win their way with Elizabeth and her ministers. It was the 12th of June before an ungracious reply was sent, "that the Queen would not grant the Earl of Lennox more liberty in the Tower while he used himself as he did,"—meaning until he showed a more submissive spirit. The Lady Margaret was then very ill, being, (according to her own expression,) much diseased with a pain in her head, and what she called a rheum—in modern parlance influenza—therefore, being unable herself, she caused one of her attendants to write at her dictation, in remonstrance, an epistle which reveals these particulars, but abates not a particle of her high spirit.[3] Neither did the Earl of Lennox take his punishment as meekly as the Queen and Cecil thought becoming. He wrote a long memorial, complaining that he had been brought several times before the Council, when he had declared his innocence, as he meant to do all his life. And he observed, with dignity befitting a more honourable character, "As for his leaving his own natural

[1] Haynes' Burghley Papers, April 2, 1562.
[2] State Paper Office—Domestic—Sheen, May 30, 1562. Holograph, hitherto unedited.
[3] Ibid., dated Tower, June 20, 1562.

country as a vagabond or banished man, it was not so; and as to the new charges which accusers are suffered to bring against him, he will reply to them when he knows what they are."

The Earl, however, became worse in health every day, and his faithful Margaret began to lower her high tone for his dear sake; for, spotted as he was with many sins, and full of dishonour, he was dear to her. By letter to Queen Elizabeth, she tried to induce her to let him share her own prison at Sheen, from whence she writes very piteously to Cecil, July 10, 1562, saying,[1] "I have no answer of my last of petitions to the Queen's Majesty, which were, that it might please her Highness to be so gracious as to suffer my lord and me to come together—or, at the least, he to have the liberty of the Tower;" by which she meant that the Earl might walk about within the circle of its walls, for exercise or amusement, and not remain all day pent up in his prison lodging — for the Lady Margaret could not but remember how her first love, Lord Thomas Howard, fell a victim to the same cruel and dispiriting process. "My lord's sickness," pursues the faithful wife, "comes only by close keeping and lack of comfort; so that, if it might please her Majesty to suffer him to come to Shene and to be kept here as I am, we should think *ourselfs* much bound to her Highness—for, otherwise, I know he cannot continue without danger of his life, which to her Majesty should be small pleasure." Again, in less than a fortnight Margaret renewed her supplication for mercy to her husband, scarcely bestowing a thought on pleading for herself, but all for him; and it is in the following letter that she alludes to the malady, or rather hypochondria, of the Earl of Lennox, which had occasioned even Queen Elizabeth herself to advise that he should never be left alone:—

"Good Mister Sekretory,—This is great grief to me always to have such deferring answers, much like unto the first, as 'that my lord shall

[1] State Paper Office—Domestic—holograph.

know his offence, and shall have no more liberty as yet.' For offence, I must say, as I have said, which is the truth, that neither my Lord nor I have willingly offended her Majesty; but that her pleasure is to take our doings not in so good part as other Princes hath heretofore, in respect whereof we have received punishment, wherewith her Highness may be satisfied—beseeching her Majesty to have some consideration *of* [for] me, her poor kinswoman, and of my husband (the rather for my sake,) who is in close prison without comfort, *fare onmyt* [far unmeet] to his nature, and, as her Highness knows, not very healthful, having a disease which *solitariness* [solitude] is most against, as heretofore, to my comfort, her Majesty hath willed me to cause him always to be in company—beseeching her Highness, for the honour of God and for nature's sake, to mollify and appease her indignation against us, who *is*, and shall be, during our lives, her Majesty's true and faithful subjects; desiring you, good Mister Sekretory, to participate to her Majesty the same, and to be a mean that I may have some [more] comfortable answer than as yet I have had—in the which doing I shall find myself much bound unto you, and shall not forget the same, if it lie in my power. And thus, with my very hearty commendations to you, I bid the same likewise farewell. From Shene, this Wednesday.

"Your assured friend to my power,

"MARGARIT LENNOX AND ANGUSE."[1]

Endorsed—"July 22, 1662," and directed as before.

In answer to this urgent supplication the noble captives were given some hint of the intelligence which had been extracted from Arthur Lallard of his interview with Mary, Queen of Scots. Hitherto they had been kept in utter ignorance what they were accused of, according to the approved inquisitorial mode, being expected to accuse themselves by confessing what they supposed they had offended in. Fortunately for the Lady Margaret and Earl Matthew, their messenger, Arthur Lallard, was of a very different spirit from their accuser, William Forbes. Arthur's story has already been told. Nothing injurious could be extracted from his account of his interview with Mary, Queen of Scots, which was in complete coincidence with all the Earl and Countess themselves had said—that they merely sent to beg some assistance in regard to the restoration of their property. Not one word did Arthur allow to the disparagement of his master or his mistress—far from it; the narrative he furnished of both his missions in quest of the Earl's brother, M. d'Aubigny,

[1] State Paper Office—Margaret, Countess of Lennox, to Cecil, Sheen, July 22, 1562—holograph, hitherto unedited.

stands in respectable contrast to the spiteful trifles recorded to their injury by the secret witness, Forbes. Arthur concluded his deposition thus: "And this, most noble and honourable Lords, is the very truth of both my journies, and of all the matters of my Lord I ever had in hand. As for Scotland, I never was there before or since. And, therefore, I humbly beg your honours' favour upon me, who *is* but a poor servant, and your most humble orator, Arthur Lallard."[1] The words "who *is*" savour not much of "the schoolmaster," which was the appellation by which Arthur was known among the numerous domestics entertained at Settrington House; but his phrase of "humble orator" indicates the Roman Catholic priesthood, which was very likely his real vocation.

The Lady Margaret was left in perplexing uncertainty as to the tenor of Arthur Lallard's deposition; but she mentions him thus in her next letter to Cecil, which occurred in two days from the last, in which she devises a scheme to obtain an interview with her long absent husband:—

"Good Mister Sekretory,[2]—I have received answer from you by my man Fowler, that my lord must acknowledge an offence, and submit himself to the Queen's Majesty, wherein ye know for my lord I am not able to say anything on his behalf *touching*, unless I might speak with him, and so to give my best *advise*, or else have leave to send to him. And for my part, except it were for the schoolmaster's[3] going into Scotland without the Queen's Majesty's leave, I can remember no offence; and for that I do most humbly submit myself to her Majesty, and trust my lord will so do, if he have not done the like already, being well assured, knowing his good nature as I do, that no man doth more lament the Queen's Highness' displeasure than he, or would more willingly submit himself in all things to have her favour, which I pray God to send us shortly—beseeching you, as I did before, to be a mean to her Majesty that my lord may have his liberty, wherein we shall think ourselves most bound during our lives, and shall pray for her Majesty's most noble estate long to reign over us. And thus, beseeching you of answer with my most hearty commendations, I commit the same to the tuition of Almighty God. From Shene this Friday.

"Your assured frend to my power,

"Margaret Lennox and Anguse.

"24*th July* 1562."

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[1] State Paper Office—Examination of Arthur Lallard, before quoted.

[2] State Paper Office — Sheen, July 24, 1562 — holograph, hitherto unedited.

[3] Arthur Lallard's.

The foregoing was the most humble letter which the tyranny under which she suffered had as yet extracted from my Lady Margaret; nevertheless, it produced nothing but a sharp taunt from Queen Elizabeth, to this effect, "That the submission of Lord Lennox must come of himself, and not by his wife's teaching."[1] "As to that,"[2] replied the aggrieved lady, who was perfectly conscious that her contemporaries attributed to her the entire government of her spouse, "my lord needs not to learn at my hand how to *use* [conduct] himself to his Prince, wherein he was expert ere he came into England; and since his coming here, he has needed no such schoolmistress." Here is true love, showing more zeal for the honour of the beloved object than for self-consequence. Her letter contains a rehearsal of one she had lately received from Cecil, in which it seems he had advised her to make interest with some others of the cabinet council of Queen Elizabeth. In the course of her observations she mentions a circumstance already narrated, according to chronology, which was the favourable audience of leave-taking that Queen Elizabeth had given her and Lennox at their last interview with her Majesty. The Lady Margaret takes the opportunity of reminding Cecil of the extent of her personal influence with her royal cousin, when she was permitted to see her. As for supplicating the Council, the idea was by no means relished by my Lady Margaret, who thus discusses the matter with Cecil:—"And for suing to any other of the Council, save to yourself, I know not the *pace;* neither have I been accustomed to write to a Council, but to some one of them, of which it pleased the Queen's Majesty, when my lord and I took leave of her Highness to go into Yorkshire, when she was first Queen, to appoint us yourself in our affairs, which we have hitherto observed. Besides that, I know my imbecility and weakness of brain far unmeet to indite to such councillors, but only that I am *traded* with you already, praying you not to weary of my troublesome letters, and to have me in remembrance as ye

[1] State Paper Office, Aug. 5, 1562—Letter to Cecil—holograph, hitherto unedited. [2] Ibid.

see cause—which I pray God may be shortly, to my comfort, after these my long troubles."[1] Notwithstanding the shade of haughtiness perceptible in this epistle, she communicates in her next that "as the Queen had not accepted her lord's submission, which she was sure he had made as largely as his offence required, she had taken the advice Cecil had given her, and had written to the Lord-Keeper [Sir Nicholas Bacon] and to Lord Pembroke."[2]

Other sorrows, perhaps more intolerable to bear than those connected with her royal descent, began to press heavily upon the high spirit of the noble matron—even those pecuniary anxieties which the Scripture aphorism most admirably defines as the "sorrow of the world which worketh death." A more piteous description of the breaking up and desolation of a whole family has seldom crossed the path of a biographer, than the one described in the following letter of the unfortunate Lady Margaret:—

"Good Mester Sekretory,[3]—I cannot cease but trouble you still, till I may receive some comfort, praying you to remember my intolerable griefs, which *ariseth* divers ways, as well by my lord's imprisonment and mine, being thereby separated, as also by impoverishment, which daily increaseth to our utter undoing: as first, being in great debt before the beginning of this trouble, and then coming up upon the sudden, having nought but upon borrowing[4] to sustain my charges [of travelling;] leaving all goods, though small they be, as well cattle as household stuff and grounds, without order, which now goeth to ruin and decay for lack of looking to; having not any trusty servant [to] spare to redress the same, certain [of the servants] being in prison, and the rest few enow to attend our business here besides. Then the great charges we are at in *these parts* [Sheen and the Tower]—one way with my lord and his servants' imprisonment, another way with mine own and children's, and those attending on me and them."

Thus it is plain that the Lady Margaret declares that her little children were the Queen their cousin's captives, as well

[1] State Paper Office, Aug. 5, 1562—Letter to Cecil—holograph, hitherto unedited.

[2] State Paper Office—Lady Lennox to Cecil—Sheen, Aug. 12, 1562—holograph.

[3] Ibid.—Sheen, August 22, 1562—holograph, hitherto unedited.

[4] She alludes here to her sudden journey from Yorkshire, just before the preceding Christmas, when the whole family at Settrington were hurried up to London as prisoners, in obedience to the warrant of Queen Elizabeth and the Star Chamber.

as herself. She never mentions Lord Darnley as one of them. Indeed, it is remarkable how sedulously she avoids his name. No intelligence exists concerning him, excepting the notations of Udal and Jewel—one supposing he had fled to Mary in Scotland; the other, that he was concealed among his mother's friends—namely, the Roman Catholics of either London or Yorkshire. Where he was it is difficult to define. Nevertheless, the captivity of his parents continued a full twelvemonth. This letter, which the Lady Margaret devotes to what she calls "the intolerable griefs" of her pecuniary difficulties, thus proceeds—

"That having nought but upon borrowing to suffice the ordinary charges since my coming up [from Settrington to London,] which shift I have so long made that now it faileth. An' for the small portion of living my lord and I have, the revenue thereof is far unable to suffice the half of the ordinary charges we be now at, besides that we were *before hand* of divers of our bailifs, as occasion enforced us unto. All which considered, making my moan to you, my trust is that ye will be a mean to shorten the time of my lord's trouble and mine, beseeching ye, so soon as ye may, to participate the premises to the Queen's Majesty—having confidence that her Highness's good nature is such that she will not see me utterly impoverished now in my old age, being her Majesty's poor kinswoman. And thus, leaving to trouble you any further, save with my hearty commendations, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God. From Shene this Saturday.

"Your assured friend to my power,

"MARGARET LENNOX AND ANGUSE."

All these deprivations and miseries were assuredly foreseen and aggravated by the very persons to whom she made "her moan," as she calls the representation of the ruin which had overwhelmed herself and her family. Cecil next declared that, according to the Queen's own words, her Majesty had cherished resentful feelings against the Lady Margaret ever since her own imprisonment in the Tower by her late sister Queen Mary—it having been reported that her cousin had advised that measure. In consequence of this alarming information, the luckless lady wrote an earnest letter of denial to the Premier, complaining, at the same time, of the falsehood and injustice of the other accusations that had been brought

against herself and her lord; and reiterating her demand for her Majesty "to be so good and gracious to them as to hear them and their accusers face to face." This letter was dated October 2. Towards the end of that month the captive lady renewed "her moan" for her lord's release. The correspondence had been interrupted in the interim by the sudden and dangerous illness of Queen Elizabeth, who was for nearly a month sufficiently indisposed to raise apprehensions that the time was come in which trial would be made as to who was to be her actual successor. "I hear," wrote the Lady Margaret to Cecil, October 25, "thanks be to God, of the Queen's amendment, which is no small comfort to me; and shall pray to God daily to increase her Majesty's health and strength, long to reign over us; beseeching you to bear my lord and me in remembrance to her Highness, hoping, by your good means, that she will consider the long time of my lord's imprisonment and mine, and our absence one from the other—specially he being in the Tower, the winter come, and that house both unwholesome and cold. I shall most humbly and lowly beseech her Highness, first for God's cause, and next for nature's sake, to suffer my lord, my husband, and me to come together." That supplication meeting with no relenting answer, and November advancing—indeed, more that one-third of it come and gone — the Lady Margaret again renewed, with the perseverance of the importunate widow, her supplication for some mercy to be extended to the invalid, so inexpressibly dear to her, sinking and failing in the Tower prison. It seems that the Queen's illness had been at Richmond Palace, almost adjoining the place of her cousin Margaret's detention, to which circumstance that lady alludes in her next letter, written to Cecil, November 12, 1562. She held on the track she had struck out in her former epistle, of lamenting the Queen's sickness; but in this she goes somewhat further—let those believe her who may—as if her worst misfortune was being deprived of the honour of waiting upon her royal mistress in her sick-chamber. "At the time of her Majesty's sickness, which, (as before to

you I have written,) I did much lament, (God be the judge,) and being so near where her Highness lay, could not be suffered to show myself to her, according as both by nature and duty I am bound, it cannot but augment my grief. And now her Highness being recovered—thanks be to God—therefore I, being most glad to hear the same, yet otherwise that I am restrained from her Majesty's presence, the sight whereof would be most to my comfort, that I might, with the rest of her servants, rejoice at her restoring to health, I am enforced in my heart to think it rare and grievous." Again she presses on the Queen's attention (for before Elizabeth she knows her petition will be laid) "how indisposed her husband was, and how unfit for his recovery the Tower was; likewise the ill air of the place, and the cold time of the year." If nothing further be granted, "she prays that he may be imprisoned with her and her children, and she shall be content."

The Lady Margaret proved how well she knew the peculiar disposition of Queen Elizabeth, being convinced that it was possible to induce the Queen to believe that persons whom she ill-treated, as she had done the Lennox family, could remain personally attached to her. Influenced by this notion, Elizabeth actually granted the favour so long desired; and by the 26th of November the Earl of Lennox was permitted by the royal grace to leave the Tower, and share his wife's less rigorous imprisonment at Sheen; for which concession his lady wrote a letter of thanks to Cecil,[1] reiterating the same assumption of love to her royal cousin's person. She very earnestly desired that her lord and herself might be permitted "to pay her duty to the Queen's person, as usual." But such advance was too sudden; thay were both left in the safe keeping of the Sackvilles at Sheen, until the pressure of circumstances impelled the Lady Margaret again to write letters of lamentation to Cecil, on account of poverty, aggravated by the enormous expenditure incurred by the life they were leading. The New-Year opened, and

[1] State Paper Office, November 26, 1562.

they were still in captivity at Sheen. Her lord was ill, and required all her attendance; and the Lady Margaret was forced to employ a scribe, as may be guessed by the variation in the odd orthography of Cecil's official title, the word Secretary being a great puzzle to all his correspondents, of whatever degree.

"SHENE, *January* 8, 1562-3.

"GOOD MR SECREATORY,[1]—Having rested all this time, not sending to you in attempting my suit to the Queen's Majesty as before, perceiving, in the answer you sent me by Fowler, that my oft sending hath been a trouble to you, and being loth to be troublesome to any, (so near as I can so long as I may,) I have foreborne till very need and necessity inforceth me to utter my grief, which oftentimes I have done to you; in especial, and last of all, writing so humble to the Queen's Majesty, whereof I was put in hope to have, ere now, some comfortable answer: but, in place, I received from you, by my said servant, an extreme and grievous answer. I impute the same to have been the only cause of my lord's sickness at this time. *Mr Secreatory*, considering how we have continually begged and craved, in most humble wise, her Majesty's favour, together with the punishment my lord in especial hath received, and thereby so extremely impoverished, and yet so remaining, must needs make me *accompt* that I am but unnaturally used, being her Majesty's poor and next kinswoman of her father's side, who neither hath, nor willingly will deserve, such lack of her Highness' favour, as God and the world knoweth. And now, seeing we cannot obtain as yet *her* favour, (which thing is most to our grief,) we are constrained to enter into another suit to her Majesty, which our poverty driveth us unto—beseeching you most heartily to move her Majesty therein, that whereas, ever since my coming to Shene, (being before far in debt,) I have bought all things with ready money, for the furniture of our family and household, besides all charges of imprisonment, travelling, and other necessaries—which money having not of our own, I was driven to borrow it of Lady Sackville and others, the most part. And now the same being spent, not knowing where to get any to support our needful charges upon being here—at more charge than if we lay in the city, by almost the third part—I shall therefore most humbly beseech her Highness to appoint us something to live upon in this country, or else to allow us other ways, as to her Majesty shall seem good, for our farther relief—for that our present necessity is such as, without the same, we are not able to continue. And if her Majesty will not grant us one of these suits, we shall be forced to require her Majesty's licence (which we would be most loth to do) to repair into the country where our poor living lieth, till such time as it may please God we may have her Highness' favour, without which (if we might otherwise choose) we should be loth to go or abide in any place. And thus, with my most hearty commendations, desiring you of answer, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God. From Shene the 8 of January."

Signed—"Your assured good friend to my power,

"MARGARET LENNOX AND ANGUSE."

[1] State Paper Office, November 26, 1562.

The above doleful letter, together with another in the same strain which she wrote to her man Robinson, who carried them both to Cecil, caused the patience of the "chefe secreatory" to give way. He expressed himself to the bearer, Robinson, in a manner that called forth an apology from the Lady Margaret, which she wrote with her own hand, and sent January 17th. After some soothing words to Cecil, she thus proceeds:[1]—"Marry, I must needs think I have some back friends, [backbiters,] but I can judge none, or I must otherwise account that it proceeds from the Queen's Majesty's self, which I trust not. I assure you that my lord and I have so many injuries arising by her Highness' displeasure—as first by the grief it is to us—then our necessity for money—and every evil-willer of ours in the country [Yorkshire] encouraged thereby to encroach upon the small living we have [there,] as (even at this present) our servant, being coming from thence, declareth that matters of traverse *is* newly growen in seven several lordships of ours,"—meaning that seven different litigations, or claims at law, had started up against their ownership of the confiscated manors with which Henry VIII. had endowed the Earl of Lennox and his heirs. "Half the revenue we have," continues the afflicted lady, "will scant defend our right, having quietly enjoyed the same nineteen years without trouble, (saving the Strangwyche lands.) I trust your wisdom will consider whether we have occasion to be weary of this life or not."

It was not until February 1562-3 that the Countess and her husband were freed from their prison restraint at Sheen, but they were still forbidden to enter the presence of Queen Elizabeth. Some members of the Council brought the permission from their royal mistress, that her captives might leave their cage: they delivered a message from the Queen,—"That she had forgiven and forgotten their offence, yet she would not see them." This interdict the Lady Margaret most dutifully bewailed, as the greatest

[1] State Paper Office—Domestic—January 17, 1562-3.

misfortune and punishment which had yet befallen her. She dates her letter of acknowledgment for her freedom from Sackville Place, which was in London.[1] It is evident that she returned at once to Settrington, in order to see and set to rights the disasters which had befallen her household gods as soon as possible. Indeed, whatever she might affect of penitential regret, the Court of her royal kinswoman could only have been a place of annoyance to her.

The people of England began to show some indications of sensibility to the cruelty with which the Queen's nearest relatives were treated by the working out of Henry VIII.'s marriage-law. The serious illness of Queen Elizabeth in 1562 caused the debates in the House of Commons to be long and stormy concerning her successor, some advocating the claims of Mary, Queen of Scots, some those of the Lady Margaret. A great party supported those of Lady Katharine Gray, or of her sons.

In this state of affairs some respite was given to the Lennox victims. The Lady Margaret obtained leave for her husband to pass over the Border to receive his inheritance in Scotland, and take rank as a Scottish peer of the blood-royal. He went at Whitsuntide,[2] 1564, leaving his lady overwhelmed with debts and difficulties, yet supported by the cheering hope that she should see the realms of England and Scotland one day united in the line of her grandchildren. She directed her husband to seek the friendship and assistance of those rising statesmen, the Melvilles, whom she propitiated by claiming as her cousins, probably on the Douglas side of her pedigree. "When Matthew, Earl of Lennox, came to Scotland, before the marriage of his son Darnley with the Queen," observes Sir James Melville, "I went to the Earl, who told me that his long absence out of Scotland had made him a stranger in the knowledge of the State; but that my lady, his wife, at his coming fra her, had willed him to take my brother

[1] State Paper Office—The Lady Lennox to Cecil, February 3, 1562-3 —holograph, hitherto unedited.

[2] Stowe.

Robert's counsel and mine in all he did, as that of her friends and kinsmen."[1]

In the course of the summer Margaret deprived herself of many of her best jewels, to further her son's cause. Melville observes, "Margaret Douglas, Lady Lennox, sent many good advices to Queen Mary, to be followed forth according to the time and occasions. My Lady Lennox sent also tokens to Queen Mary—a ring with a fair diamond; an emerald to her husband, the Earl of Lennox, who was yet in Scotland; a diamond to my Lord of Murray; an *orloge* or *montre*, [really a watch,] set round with diamonds and rubies, to the Secretary Liddington; a ring with a ruby to my brother, Sir Robert Melville." Most of these were sent as propitiations for the marriage of her heir, Lord Darnley, to the regal beauty who was at once Sovereign of Scotland and heiress of England. "Lady Lennox was in guid hope," wrote Melville, "that her son, Lord Darnley, suld be better sped than the Earl of Leicester anent the marriage with Queen Mary. She was a very wise and discreet matron, and had many favourers in England for the time."[2]

During a short-lived gleam of apparent favour with her royal cousin Elizabeth, the Lady Margaret appeared at Court, whither she brought her son. The fond mother in after years expressed herself as if his demeanour had given great satisfaction there.[3] She herself, July 6, 1564, stood godmother with the Queen for Cecil's infant daughter Elizabeth. There was a grand supper at Cecil House, of which the Queen and her cousin Margaret partook.[4] Lord Darnley bore the sword before her Majesty on all occasions of regal ceremony, such being then the office of the Prince nearest to the throne. He thus assisted at the creation of Elizabeth's favourite, Lord Robert Dudley, Sept. 29, as Earl of Leicester—a creation which ostensibly took place for the purpose of rendering him of a rank more suitable to his pretensions, as suitor to Mary, Queen of Scots. Eliza-

[1] Melville's Memoirs, September 1564. [2] Ibid.
[3] State Paper Office—Letter of Lady Lennox, November 1572.
[4] Cecil's Diary—Murdin Papers.

beth asked the Scotch ambassador, Melville, who was present, "how he liked her newly-created Earl?" Melville replied, "As he was a worthy subject, so he was happy in serving a Princess who could discern and reward good service." "Yet," resumed Elizabeth reproachfully, "ye like better of yonder lang lad," pointing towards my Lord Darnley, who that day bore the sword of honour before her. "My answer," continues Melville, "was, that no woman of spirit would make choice of sic a man—that was liker a woman than a man, for he was lusty [lovely,] beardless, and lady-faced. I had na will," continues the deceitful diplomatist, "that the Queen of England should think I liked Lord Darnley, or had any eye or dealing that way; albeit I had a secret charge to deal with his mother, the Lady Lennox, *to purchase leave* for him to pass to Scotland, where his father was already, that he might see the country, and convey the Earl of Lennox, his father, back again into England."[1]

Never was any one less provided to make a purchase of any kind than the lady-mother of Lord Darnley. Her property had been wilfully wasted; she had no power over the principal, as it was a grant from the Crown. She was making interest with Cecil and Yaxley for the Queen's leave to sell one hundred pounds' worth of the land—a privilege which took as long to accomplish as a modern Chancery suit.[2] Of course the inimical Government laughed secretly at the efforts of the noble matron to accomplish an object to which they had placed insurmountable impediments, as far as her own ability went. It seems implied by the Scotch ambassador that Mary, Queen of Scots, supplied the money for the purchase or bribes of Elizabeth's ministers, since it is certain that the Queen granted permission, on the application of the Lady Margaret, for Lord Darnley, early in the spring of 1564–5, to join his father at the Court of Mary Stuart. His mother was at Settrington awaiting him.

[1] Melville's Memoirs—Maitland Club, p. 120—Sept. 1563.
[2] State Paper Office, April 10, 1564—Lady Lennox to Francis Yaxley.

He appears to have left London Feb. 3, and crossed the Border Feb. 10, taking his birthplace, Temple Newsome,[1] in his way. Stowe, his contemporary, thus notes his northern journey:—"Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley,[2] about the age of nineteen, eldest son of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, (who went into Scotland the Whitsuntide before,) having obtained licence of the Queen, took his journey towards Scotland, accompanied by five of his father's men. He was honourably received in Scotland, and lodged in the King's lodgings;" and there his mother's biographer leaves him to fulfil his sad destiny.[3]

The Lady Margaret kept up a constant correspondence with her husband and son in Scotland; she likewise wrote frequently to her intended daughter-in-law, Mary Queen of Scots. Many of these letters were intercepted, and never reached the hands of those to whom they were addressed. In the course of her correspondence with the Queen, her intended daughter-in-law, the Lady Margaret, sent her from time to time intimations of the modes used by Queen Elizabeth to traverse the match. One expression she used, just enough, in all conscience, which was, "that the Queen of England's displeasure against the marriage of Mary and Darnley was full of affectations."[4] It is doubtful whether the word affectation (although seemingly very applicable to Queen Elizabeth's usual proceedings in such cases) bore the same offensive meaning that it does at present; yet there was matter sufficient to excite the wrath of the virgin Queen, for all that might be said concerning her by Queen Mary and Darnley—and they had had little cause to love her—quickly flew back to the English Court by the means of Randolph's treacherous mistress, Mary Beton. The persecutions, of which there had been some cessation for eighteen months or two years, were suddenly renewed against the

[1] Zurich Papers, February 1564-5.
[2] Stowe's Annals, February 3 to 10, 1564-5.
[3] John Elder, the preceptor of Darnley, soon followed his master to Scotland. "He that was schoolmaster to the Lord Darnley, whether he be an Englishman or a Scotchman, I know not, is, I hear, come out of Flanders into Scotland, and is well received."—Bedford to Cecil.
[4] Randolph to Cecil. Keith, p. 280.

Lady Margaret. A summons for her instant appearance at the Court of Elizabeth came down to Settrington, so sharply and quickly that the noble mistress of the establishment was hurried away without time being given to provide for the safety and comfort of her young son, then scarcely nine years old. The harpies of the Star Chamber immediately began their usual work of devastation: they seized the property, and dispersed the household. Some of the inmates they hurried away for inquisitorial examination. Mabel Fortescue and the other young lady wards they sent home to their friends, after seizing all their letters. Settrington was left desolate, with scarcely a servant to provide for the wants of the solitary member of the family, who was left there bereft of his mother's tender care—the forlorn little one, Lord Charles Stuart.[1]

On her first arrival in London, April 22, 1565, the captive Lady Margaret was taken to her usual apartments at Whitehall Palace, but was charged to confine herself to them.[2] That very week, Matthew, Earl of Lennox, had so little idea of the storm that had desolated his home at Settrington that he, being in Edinburgh, confided letters he had written to his wife to the Earl of Bedford, Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland; which trustworthy peer forwarded them to the prime-minister Cecil, with this respectable intimation: — "It cannot be but that there is some news therein; you may use your wisdom in delivering or retaining them."[3] Thus the poor prisoner, who was under restraint, although not yet in the Tower, lost the comfort of the letters of her husband—who, wicked as he was, really loved her. As news arrived every day from Throckmorton or Randolph, her hopes and fears varied; at last, the former envoy wrote from Scotland, May 19th, that as the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, could not be averted, he recommended further restraint on the Countess of Lennox;

[1] State Paper Letters, by Margaret, Countess of Lennox. Mabel Fortescue. Privy Council to Vaughan. [2] Stowe's Annals.

[3] Bedford's Letters to Cecil, April 28, 1565—State Paper Office—quoted by Chalmers.

and these were the notes of preparation for the incarceration of the poor lady in the Tower.

Mary, Queen of Scots, urged by the unhappiness of her betrothed regarding his beloved mother, sent John Hay, her Master of Requests, to Queen Elizabeth, to entreat her kind relentings and favour for the Lady Margaret. John Hay, who was in the counsels of Moray, made matters worse; so that on the very evening of his arrival poor Lady Lennox was despatched by Elizabeth from her restraint at Court, to the prison lodging in the Tower. She was taken thither by water, under the care of the guard, and Sir Francis Knollys,[1] June 22, 1565. Of course she made her entry by the Traitors' Gate.

Randolph, the guileful ambassador of Queen Elizabeth, strove to interrupt the fast approaching marriage of Darnley, by urging on him and his father the necessity of obedience to the mandate of recall which Queen Elizabeth had issued for them both on the arrest of Margaret. The Earl of Lennox murmured deeply regarding the incarceration of his wife in the Tower, and told Randolph he would not return to similar ill-treatment. About a month after the imprisonment of the poor lady, Randolph wrote the opinion of the Congregationalists in Scotland, concerning that lawless act. "Some that have heard of the imprisonment of the Lady Lennox like very well thereof, and wish both her husband and son to keep her company. The question hath been asked me by some, (by Moray and his party) whether these Darnley and Lennox, 'if they were delivered to the English at Berwick, would be received by us.' I answered 'that we could not, would not refuse our own, in whatsoever sort they came unto us.' It is no small comfort to those that favour God's word to hear that the Queen's Majesty, Elizabeth, is determined to advance the true religion, and to abase the contrary."[2] The same despatch contains the germ of a plot for the capture of Darnley and his father, and for their being given captive to Elizabeth's commander at Berwick. These machinations for the ruin of the branch of the royal family nighest

[1] Stowe's Annals.

[2] Keith's Appendix, p. 285.

the throne were not at that time successful; and hope was left alive in the lonely heart of the wife and mother, when she commenced her long imprisonment, that these dear ones would finally overcome all snares laid for them.

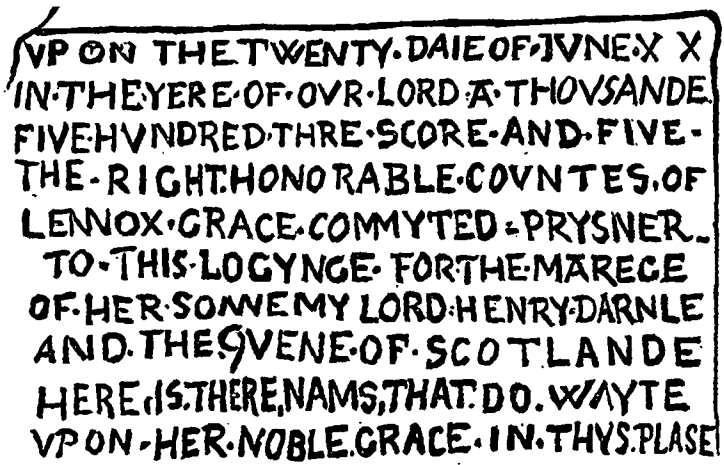
The Queen of Scots interested herself ardently in the behalf of her aunt, Lady Margaret: she prevailed on the young King of France to write a letter of intercession to Queen Elizabeth for the poor lady; moreover, she herself wrote to her "good sister," entreating her to show some clemency. The royal letter from France arrived June 30.[1] About five weeks afterwards, when Queen Elizabeth sent Mr Tamworth an envoy to Scotland, with an explanation of her cause of imprisoning the Lady Margaret, Queen Mary refused to see him; but despatched him homewards with a letter, professing her wish to live at peace with England, but on condition that she was declared heir to the English crown, and her husband's mother, the Lady Margaret, next to her.

The consignment of a mother to hard durance in the Tower, for the purpose of wreaking state vengeance for the marriage of her son in another kingdom, was considered a terrible infringement of moral justice. There was no rebellion, no tumult, to be alleged in extenuation. The most ingenious special pleader must have pronounced it a bad case, on which those who said the least showed the greatest wisdom. The faithful few of her servants who followed the mother of Darnley to her prison-house, have, however, left indelibly impressed a handwriting on the wall, affording evidence to our times of the cause of her confinement, and likewise of the place of it — a circumstance which, at the same time, casts a light on the disputed point, in what part of the Tower the lady captives in the Tudor era were usually imprisoned.

The Honourable George Cathcart, Esq., Deputy-Governor of the Tower, has favoured us with a fac-simile taken from the wall of his dressing-room, in the residence of the Lieutenant of the Tower, which was discovered

[1] Keith's Appendix, p. 161.

during some alterations in that ancient structure in 1834, to the following effect:—


VP ON THE TWENTY DAIE OF JVNE X
IN THE YERE OF OVR LORD A THOVSANDE
FIVE HVNDRED THRE SCORE AND FIVE
THE RIGHT HONORABLE COVNTES OF
LENNOX GRACE COMMYTED PRYSNER
TO THIS LOGYNGE FOR THE MARECE
OF HER SONNE MY LORD HENRY DARNLE
AND THE QVENE OF SCOTLANDE
HERE IS THERE NAMS THAT DO WAYTE
VP ON HER NOBLE GRACE IN THYS PLASE

"Upon the twentieth day of June,[1] in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred threescore and five, the Right Honourable Countess of Lennox's Grace committed prisoner to this lodging, for the marriage of her son my Lord Henry Darnley and the Queen of Scotland. Here *is* their names that do wait upon her noble Grace in this place."

Then in faint characters occur these names:—

"M[2] Elizabeth Husey.
M Jhan Baily.
M Elizabeth Chambrlen.[3]
M Robart Portynger.
M Edward C. Veyne.
Anno Domini 1566."

"I have reason to suppose," says the Honourable George Cathcart, in his intelligent letter illustrative of the above inscription, "that almost all the lady prisoners who were

[1] Stowe says June 22; but the prisoner's record is most likely correct.
[2] The meaning of these initial M's indicates Mrs or Mr preceding the names.
[3] Murdin's Burghley Papers. She was an unswerving Roman Catholic several of her family took refuge in Spain.

sent to the Tower, and placed under the lieutenant's custody, were lodged in this house, or the Bell Tower, which joins it, and belongs to it. Queen Elizabeth herself was imprisoned in the Bell Tower, not many years before the Countess of Lennox was put into the apartment which is now my room, and which is close to the Bell Tower, and formerly communicated with it. This old house is very large for houses of that date: it rests on the old ballium wall of the Tower to which the Bell Tower belongs; and the wall in my study or office is eighteen feet thick. The house stands in an angle, and presents seven gable ends to the front; but the inside has been modernised, wainscoted, lathed, plastered, and papered so many times since, as to leave no traces of antiquity. There is an inscription in similar characters on another stone by the side of the above, to the following effect:—

'AS · GOD · PRESERVED · CHRIST · HIS · SON ·
IN · TROVBLE · AND · IN · THRALL ·
SO · WHEN · WE · CAL · VPON · THE · LORD ·
HE · WILL · PRESERVE · VS · ALL.'"

Such is the interesting sketch of the existing memorials of the Lady Margaret—given in the words of the gentleman who described them from personal inspection—and what description ever equals that drawn on the spot? Much may any country be congratulated when historical relics happen to be under the care of officers capable of appreciating them, and adding, at the same time, to the stores of national information, as in the present case— the above description being hitherto unpublished.[1]

The winter of 1565 was now approaching; yet, notwithstanding the grief of her relatives in Scotland, the remonstrances of foreign powers, and the silent indignation of

[1] It is with the fac-simile in a letter from the Honourable George Cathcart, to his sister the Lady Louisa Cathcart, in which he kindly devotes it to the illustration of this series, saying—"That, hearing Miss Agnes Strickland is engaged in a History of the times of Mary, Queen of Scots, I send you a curious inscription discovered in the wall of what is now my dressing-room, twelve years ago, when this old house was repaired; and the enclosed inscription you can give to Miss Strickland, if she likes to have it." Of course we accepted it with gratitude, and here return thanks for the same.

many English persons, who deemed that she had hard measure, all preparations were made for the continuation of the Lady Margaret's imprisonment for an indefinite time. First, her forlorn little one at Settrington was consigned to the keeping of the Lady Knevet, who had married Mr Vaughan. They seem to have been Yorkshire neighbours of the Lennox family. To Vaughan Queen Elizabeth thus wrote her orders—"That the second son to the Earl of Lennox, named Charles Stuard, now remaining at Settrington, near to you, should be looked unto, as well for his health, being of tender years, as for his surety, considering that the said Earl, his father, remaineth in Scotland, and his mother in our Tower of London; and because we know none thereabouts meeter than yourself, and the Lady Knevet, your wife, to take the charge of him. We require you to make your repair to the said house of Settrington, or else where the said Charles is, and, declaring this our pleasure to such as have charge of him, to receive him into the custody of you and your wife; and that such care be taken of him as be meet and agreeable for his health and safety; and that which shall be convenient for the charges of him, and one or two to attend upon him, as his years shall require, shall be allowed unto you, as reason is. If cause shall require to have more to attend upon him than two, it is left to your discretion."[1]

It would have been only merciful to have given the poor lonely mother the company of her little son in the Tower; but small mercy was shown to her by her cousin Queen, who, nevertheless, manifests some humanity, however tardily shown, towards the tender boy left in the lonely halls of Settrington, during the long months that intervened between April and September, when, to be sure, he needed little more than simple food, the free air, and communication with the birds, butterflies, and flowers of his native wolds for his recreation.

In preparation for the cold weather, the Queen, or her Lord-Treasurer, Winchester, vouchsafed that a few needful

[1] State Paper Office—Minute of Queen Elizabeth, corrected by Cecil—dated September 1, 1565.—"The Queen's Majesty to John Vaughan, Esq."

articles of clothing and furniture should be supplied to her unfortunate captive in the Tower. Considering the rage for rich clothing, and fur, and jewels, prevalent at that day, they seem almost humble, and acquit "the Lady Margaret's Grace" of bestowing much expense on her own person. In the course of September 1565 she received necessaries according to a list still extant in the State Paper Office,[1] thus headed—"A Note of such things as the Lady Margaret Lennox hath great need of in the Tower. Item, two petticoats—the one scarlet, the other of crimson silk; a gown of black velvet, furred with konnye"—being merely humble rabbit-skins, to keep her from the cold: no rich linings of ermine or miniver are enumerated. "Item, a night-gown of satin, furred with the same. Item, a round kirtle of black velvet. A piece of Holland cloth, at 3s. 4d. the ell. Sixteen ells of Holland cloth, for kerchers and rails, at 6s. per ell," to make handkerchiefs and chemisettes. There was a supply of three yards of another sort of Holland, perhaps cambric, to make partlets, as high as 10s. a yard. Likewise, for the wearing of the imprisoned lady, "a French hood, a cornet or white cap, and a billiment," which means the borders of the cap front—whether of white lace, like those worn by Mary, Queen of Scots, or of gems. Twelve pair of hose or stockings, and six pair of velvet shoes, two pair of slippers, and two pair of *moyles*, or mules—being half slippers, like the Oriental ones, with no backs to them. Bedding was among the articles of which the Lady Margaret stood in need at the Tower. There was a *verdegall*, which must be a farthingale, or rather the stiffened structure which supported that formidable circle, packed with some bedding—to wit, a rug, a quilt, and a pair of fustians, [bolsters or pillows of feather-bed tickings,] and two pair of sheets. She had furniture consisting of a dining-table, six-joint stools, a green table-cover, a chair, and two little covered stools to sit on—being evidently tabourets; a side-cupboard, and a table to brush on; four table-cloths, four cupboard-cloths, and two dozen napkins; eight platters—

[1] MS.—Domestic—September 1565.

apparently wooden ones, as pewter was always mentioned in those days with almost as much reverence as plate; eight dishes, eight saucers, four porringers, a basin, a ewer, and a great basin for the chamber. A pair of creepers, a firepan, and a pair of tongs, constituted the fire-place furniture—the creepers are still used in the north, as a sort of double triangle to set toast upon. There was likewise a pair of bellows and snuffers. The plate used by the second lady in the land was not remarkable for its luxury, consisting only of a salt-cellar, two silver spoons, and a cup for drinking. The same document contains notation of her three female servants. Two seem to have slept in the Tower—the names of these are not mentioned in the State Paper MS.; but in the handwriting on the wall of the Lieutenant's house, it is found they were Mrs Elizabeth Husey and Mrs Elizabeth Chamberlen—names of note among the Roman Catholics of the Tudor era. They were paid livery and wages, £12, due at Michaelmas 1565; and Christian, my lady's woman, who lodged abroad, at the same rate. Lady Margaret paid a gentleman waiting on her in the Tower his wages, 53s. 4d.; likewise a yeoman at 26s. 8d. These are probably among those written on the wall. Mr William Robinson, whose name has often occurred in the correspondence, is mentioned as receiving wages and livery, due at Michaelmas—above £13. He is not, however, mentioned in the Tower engraving; but her servants were often torn from her, and cast into the Gatehouse, or the Marshalsea. Indeed, nothing but the bond of a mutual faith could have retained them near her, being subject alike to the ill-treatment of the Government and to her own suspicions. For instance, Hugh Allan, the courier who went and came as the newsmonger between Settrington and the courtiers in the Lady Margaret's interest, was then a prisoner in the Gatehouse, Westminster. He had followed his lady to her Yorkshire seat, after the release of the family from Sheen, and had resumed his usual journeys as courier, for she names him as the bearer of her letter to Yaxley in the preceding year, imploring leave to sell land. The confidential courier

had, however, been seized in the second desolation of Settrington, and was then languishing in the noisome gaol of the Gatehouse, as proved by his woeful supplication to Cecil two years afterwards.[1] Lady Margaret, having formed doubts of his fidelity, gave him no relief; which mistake was the harder, because the state of misery he was left in by her enemies proves that he had not betrayed her. Altogether, it is wonderful that she met with the good and attached servants that seem ever to have surrounded her; because it was the Machiavellian practice of Cecil to render those faithful retainers whom he could not corrupt suspected by her.

Margaret completed her fiftieth year on the 7th of the following October, 1565—a joyless anniversary, spent by her in solitude and tears in the doleful abiding-place assigned to her by her cousin, Queen Elizabeth, in the Tower of London, far remote from all the dear ones whose affectionate congratulations and kind wishes were wont to gladden her on the festive commemorations of her birthday in happier seasons. It is a curious fact that the fine original portrait of this Princess, from which the frontispiece of the present volume of our royal biographies has been engraved, by courteous permission of the noble owner,[2] was painted at this melancholy period of her life and fortunes; the date being distinctly verified by the following inscription in ancient letters, on the dexter corner of the panel:—

"The Lady Margaratt, Her Grace,
The Counties of Levenax,
Aetaetis sue 50."

In this portrait, which has been painted by some able, but nameless artist, Margaret is represented as extremely fair, with blue eyes and very light flaxen hair, apparently thinned by time, and paled by care, escaping in small soft ringlets from beneath a scallop shell-shaped cap of the

[1] State Paper Office—Domestic, 1567—"Hugh Alyn lamentably beseecheth," &c.

[2] From a reduced copy by the skilful hand of that promising native artist, Gourlay Steell, Esq., from the original, in the collection of the Earl of Morton, at Dalmahoy House, Mid-Lothian, to whom grateful acknowledgments are offered.

fashion usually called Queen Mary Stuart's cap. The material of which it is composed is thick point lace; so are her close-quilled ruff and ruffles, and the small scarf about her neck, all apparently *en suite*. Her dress is a black damask or brocade gown, closed up to her throat with large buttons. Her hand is small and delicately formed, and she holds a brown gauntlet-shaped glove. Nothing can be more mild and soft than the expression of her face; but she bears a certain degree of family likeness both to Mary Stuart and Queen Elizabeth. The only ornament she wears is a ruby brooch, from which depends a large pear-shaped pearl, probably the rich balas ruby brooch presented to her at her wedding with Matthew, Earl of Lennox, by her cousin and friend, Mary Tudor. The beautiful antique frame of this portrait is in good preservation—enamelled black and white on gold, with flowers apparently intended for Marguerites.

The long weary winter of 1565-6 came on, and left the poor captive in the Tower uncheered even by the presence of her younger child, Lord Charles, who remained dependent on the mercy of Lady Knevet and her husband Vaughan. The Earl of Lennox often wrote consoling letters to "his Madge," as he calls the Lady Margaret; but they never reached her hands. We have read, and our readers may, if they please, the following tender letter sent to her by her Mathiu, as, according to his French orthography, he signs himself; but she had not the satisfaction of seeing it, for it was intercepted, and survives to illustrate the trials and sufferings of the unfortunate Lennox family:—

"To my wife, my Lady Margaret.

"Glasgow, *December* 19, 1565.[1]

"My sweet Madge,[2]—After my most hearty commendations. If ye should take unkindly my slowness in writing to you all this while (as I cannot blame you to do,) God, and this bearer, our old servant Fowler,

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[1] The Earl of Lennox has been said to have resided at Craigmillar Castle, which, however, Mr Chalmers proves, was even at that time a ruin uninhabitable. His residence in Scotland was generally at Stabilgreen, Glasgow; but sometimes he sojourned at Houseton, Renfrewshire.

[2] Haynes' State Papers.

can best witness the occasion thereof, it being not a little to my grief now to be debarred, and want the commodity and comfort of intelligence by letters that we were wont [to have] passing between us during our absence. But what then? God send us patience in taking all things accordingly, and send us a comfortable meeting, when we shall talk further of the matter.

"My Madge, we have to give God most hearty thanks for that the King our son continues in good health, and the Queen great with child (God save them all;) for which cause we have great cause to rejoice the more.[1] Yet, for my part, I confess I want and find a lack of my chiefest comfort, which is you; whom I have no cause to forget for any felicity or wealth that I am in. But I trust that will amend. Although I do not doubt that their Majesties [Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley] forgetteth you not, yet I am still remembering them [reminding them] for your deliverance, to work therein as much as they can, as I doubt not but their Majesties will; else, ere you should tarry *their* any longer, I shall wish of God I may be with you, our *life* [lives] being safe."

Thus the Earl found that Scotland by no means loaded the parent of its Sovereigns with wealth or prosperity. His allusion to his state is blended with a little sly humour. His urgency with Mary and Darnley to negotiate for the release of his beloved partner from the Tower, and his preference of imprisonment with her to such royal state as he shared in Scotland with their Majesties his daughter-in-law and son, together with his doubt whether Elizabeth meditated aught against their lives, are matters well worthy of observation. The letter resumes—

"Thus being forced to make no longer letter, for want of time, as this bearer[2] knoweth (who will declare unto you all things at more length, being most sorry of his departing out of the King's Majestie's service for sundry respects,) I bid mine own sweet Madge most heartily farewell, beseeching Almighty God to preserve you in health and long life, and send us with our children a merry meeting.

"From Glasgow the 19th of December.

"Your own *Mathiu*, and most loving husband."

And what were the lonely meditations of the Lady Margaret herself, when thus living incarcerated, for the

[1] The fatal effects, to the happiness of the royal pair, which resulted from the presence of the Earl of Lennox at their Court, will be explained in the biography of Mary Stuart.

[2] It is possible that "the owld servant Fowler" betrayed this letter into Lord Burleigh's hands, since a Fowler was afterwards in James VI.'s service, and an indefatigable spy for the English at the Scottish Court.—See Murdin State Papers.

second time in her life, in the dreary civic fortress? Did bright anticipations of the sceptred lines of three successions[1] of monarchs of Great Britain, which in the fulness of time were to hail her mother, appear to cheer her long imprisonment?

[1] She is direct ancestress of the lines of the Anglo-Stuart succession, of that of Orange, and of the present line of Brunswick.

THE LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS

COUNTESS OF LENNOX

CHAPTER V.

SUMMARY

Lady Margaret's long imprisonment — News brought her to the Tower of the murder of Darnley—False report of the death of her husband—Her agonies—Medical and spiritual aid called for her—She is removed to her old prison at Sheen—Her husband arrives from Scotland—She joins him in asking Queen Elizabeth's vengeance on Queen Mary—Margaret's piteous letters, and return to Settrington—Her husband's regency in Scotland—Her residence at court, and favour with Elizabeth—Her husband murdered in Scotland—His dying message to her—Her memorial of widowhood—Of her son's death — Letter concerning her son Charles's education—Receives a Protestant tutor for him — Her curious dialogue with Elizabeth — Her son's marriage — Her troubles—Sent to the Tower again — Her speech at entrance—Birth of her grand-daughter Arabella—Death of her son Charles at Hackney—Lady Margaret reconciled to Mary, Queen of Scots — Falls into decline — Visit of Leicester — Seized with mortal illness at his departure—Death at her house at Hackney—Her servants' suspicion that she was poisoned — Burial — Will — Monument in Westminster Abbey—Darnley's body buried in her tomb.

MANY months passed over the head of the Lady Margaret in the Tower — months of inexpressible suspense and torture—during which all the events took place in Scotland that led to the misfortunes of her eldest son, Lord Darnley; the miserable mother in the mean time receiving only such version of them as it pleased her gaolers, the mortal enemies of her son and his wife, the Queen of Scots, to distil into her ear. How she ever survived to imbibe the bitterest infusion in her cup of woe is not less than wondrous.

It was in the afternoon of February 19, 1566-7, that the terrible tidings came to the wretched lady in the Tower, that her husband, the Earl of Lennox, as well as her eldest son, the Lord Darnley, had been murdered in Scotland. Lady William Howard and Lady Cecil, two ladies belonging to Queen Elizabeth's especial circle, were sent by her to communicate to her hapless captive in the Tower[1] this exaggerated statement of a fact, dreadful enough in its actual truth. The Lady Margaret's excessive agonies of mind and body rendered it needful to summon medical and clerical assistance. Dr Huick, formerly the physician of Queen Katharine Parr, was sent for, likewise the Dean of Westminster. Her anguish moved even the diplomatic heart of Cecil to pity, and in the course of a few hours he took pains to prove to her that it was impossible for her husband to have shared the calamity of her son, because he was certainly at Glasgow on the night of Lord Darnley's murder at Edinburgh. "I hope her Majesty will have some favourable compassion of the said lady," he writes, "whom any humane nature must needs pity. After I had written thus far, Master Melville has come here from Scotland, by whom we looked that we should have had many particulars of this murder; but he cannot, or may not, tell us any more than we heard before."[2] Melville probably suspected that no one was likely to be better acquainted with its minutest particulars than Cecil.

When the poor mother was sufficiently impressed with the idea that Mary Stuart had caused the death of her son, Cecil advised letting her out of the Tower.[3] In discussing the terrible event with the "bereaved mother," he says: "Most suspicion that I can hear is of the Earl of Bothwell; but yet I would not be the author of any such report, but only do mean to inform you as I hear, and as I mean

[1] Cabala—Cecil to Sir H. Nares. [2] Ibid.

[3] Stowe says, February 22, 1566-7, that the Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, mother to the said King of Scotland, was discharged out of the Tower. But there must have been some state trick practised which deceived the accurate annalist, because the letter of the Marquis of Winchester is decisive that she was detained till March 12, and then was in the gaolership of Lady Sackville.

when I shall *have* [heard] more." In his next letter, he gradually hints at his grief that the name of the Queen of Scots is not well spoken of. Let the tone of the ambassadorial reports which he received from Scotland daily prove his sincerity.

The pity that Cecil had represented as either proper or politic to be extended to the bereaved mother in the Tower was slowly and scantily vouchsafed to her by her cousin Queen. More than a month after the death of her son she lingered in prison; and when she left she was burdened with debt. Even the time-serving Marquis of Winchester — Elizabeth's Lord-Treasurer — can scarcely restrain his indignation, when he discusses the necessities of the poor lady. The previous spring he seemed anxious to press the point of whether her expenses at the Tower were to be borne by the Queen or herself. "As yet," says he, "her charges, from the first entry of the said lady into the Tower to this day, May 7, 1566, are not made; whereupon may the Queen's pleasure be known whether the same shall be paid of the Queen's charge, or of my lord and lady's land." But the Queen, as may be learned from another contemporary letter, made her victim pay for her own expenses while in prison; and these enormous debts fell on her in an hour when she was broken down by acute grief, and utterly destitute. Winchester's second letter, written March 12, 1566-7, speaks of her as just removed to her old quarters, in the custody of the Lady Sackville; but she was penniless. It seems Lady Sackville had an associate in the task of mounting guard on the unfortunate Margaret. "I perceive," writes Winchester to Cecil,[1] "my Lady Lennox is resting now with my Lady Dacre and my Lady Sackville, by the Queen's order, without money to help herself, and therefore thinketh some unkindness in me that I do not help her, which I cannot do; because the money of that land [the Lennox property] is at York, and the receiver is in London,"—that is, the Queen's

[1] State Paper MS.—Domestic—Lord-Treasurer Winchester to Cecil, May 7, 1566.

receiver of the assets of the sequestrated estates. So much does the hardship of the case move Winchester that he proposes to borrow money for her, to pay her long gaol account with the Lieutenant of the Tower; and he ends by "*wissing* [wishing] the Queen's Highness would let her have her land again in her own receipt, and so she would be best pleased, whereof I shall be verie glad."[1]

Thus the Queen's most intimate friends were really shocked at the spectacle of her persecuting her nearest relative, by long imprisonment, and reducing her to destitution, for nothing more than her son's making a suitable marriage; and now, in her utter desolation, mourning the violent death of that son, keeping her still in restraint, harassed by debts incurred during close incarceration, while her property was under sequestration to the Crown, and her rents in the hands of the royal receivers. When Mary, Queen of Scots, was abducted by Bothwell, the Earl of Lennox left Scotland and returned to England.[2] He was permitted to join his unhappy wife, who appears to have been then for the first time released from the gaolership of the Boleyn kindred. Margaret and her husband were among the most inveterate accusers of their daughter-in-law, as the instigator of their son's slaughter. Most welcome guests they were, under these circumstances, in the presence-chamber of their kinswoman, Queen Elizabeth. Their mourning garments, their tearful eyes, and unmeasured lamentations, told more against her hated rival than all the arts of Bedford, Throckmorton, or Randolph could effect among the English people. Yet, well as the wretched pair served her favourite schemes, it is surprising to find how slowly she relaxed her grasp on their estates. Woeful was the poverty she made them suffer in that direful summer when they were bewailing the loss of their beloved son. Even when the Lady Margaret had obtained from Queen Elizabeth a promise, *viva voce*, of the restoration of their property, they found she repented of her grant almost before they had retired from her presence.

[1] State Paper Office MS.—Domestic.

[2] Melville's Memoirs.

An interview between the Queen and her late prisoner occurred at the end of June 1567, according to a narrative letter by the Earl of Lennox.[1] "The Queen's Majesty," he says, "hath been so gracious unto my wife and me, as not only to take us into her favour again, after our long troubles, but also, at my wife's last being with her Highness, to grant her our living." So far, so well; but when he sent his servant, William Mompesson, to discuss the same with Cecil, he adds, "Her Majesty stayed her good mind towards us touching the said restitution, her Majesty being informed that already we are determinate to send down to levy sums of money, which, I assure you, is most untrue; for we neither have nor doth intend to deal that way till the commission be called in. *Mr Secretory*, it is not unknown how just cause I have with all expedition to be in Scotland, what dishonour I receive by my absence thence so long, and how unable I am to furnish myself to go as behoveth me, being in such poverty, as my wife and I am *owing* [are indebted] the sum of three thousand pounds or more; our cattle and our provisions upon our land sold and dispersed, in a manner, for nothing; our jewels, with plate, already at *gage* [pawned.]"[2] A doleful state of domestic affairs, adding, by every species of discomfort, to the heaviness of heart they were enduring; and very piteously does the Earl proceed to supplicate the interest of the all-powerful minister for the restoration of their property, that "there may be wherewithal for his wife and child to be maintained." The child, the young Lord Charles, was their only one remaining. For the sustenance of these objects of his affection, and for his journey back into Scotland, the Earl finishes by craving of the Queen the loan of a thousand pounds. Restitution, he might have said; but he uses that word somewhat too truly and boldly in the commencement of his epistle.

Rather more than a month elapsed before the unfortu-

[1] State Paper Office MS.—Domestic—Lennox to Cecil, July 1, 1567.
[2] Ibid.

nate expectants had any answer from the Queen. When it came, it was from the pen of Leicester, who announced to Cecil "that her Majesty,[1] understanding the needful state of my Lady Margaret Lennox, and of my lord her husband, would that you should confer with my Lord-Treasurer [Winchester,] and let him understand her Majesty's pleasure is, that he should take order that the yearly rents of their living should be from henceforth paid unto my said lady and lord, which her will is in any wise to have performed; and that which her Highness would have said more than before is, that the order and government of the whole lands remain in her Majesty's officers' hands, and that all the rents and profits be paid to my lady and lord's use from time to time." Sorry restitution this! As for the thousand pounds the Earl proposed borrowing, the Queen does not even condescend to answer any such request. The postscript which Leicester adds to this letter is of historical importance:—"The news from Scotland are but the confirmation of what you heard before of the coronation and government of the realm and King [James VI.] during his minority. Her Majesty's self [Queen Elizabeth] keepeth the Queen's resignation and assignation, which was sent now in the packet. I cannot send them to you, but I willed your servant to send you the effect of them." Thus Margaret and her lord had at last the consolation, such as it was, of knowing that the infant son of their Darnley was a crowned king; and that the deed of abdication forced from the hapless Queen of Scots at Lochleven, which made him so, was held in the personal keeping of Queen Elizabeth.

The impoverished pair, being needed by Queen Elizabeth and her diplomatists to further their ends in effecting the utter ruin of their daughter-in-law, were permitted to occupy a dilapidated city palace, called Cold Harbour,[2] but

[1] State Paper MS.—Domestic—Leicester to Cecil, Aug. 6, 1567.

[2] There were two palaces belonging to the Crown which claimed this name of Cold Harbour, or Cole Harbour, both situated on little harbour creeks of the Thames, where, doubtless, crafts of coals put in for the supply of the metropolis and its environs. The easternmost Cole Harbour was situated on the spot where is now the West India Dock basin. The

neither suffered to go to Yorkshire or Scotland, according to the request of the Earl. The decision of Queen Elizabeth, which limited the Lennox family to be mere annuitants on their property, caused the Lady Margaret to write one of her saddest letters on the robbery she had sustained by the harpies of the royal commission, in the dispersion of her personal goods and stock at her Yorkshire seats. She was then in London, and had lately been at Court. It gives information of an important nature in her biography, for she acknowledges as constitutional the same malady which subsequently proved mortal to her; thereby, as we think, exonerating an enemy generally accused of poisoning her.

"*January* 27, 1567-8.

"GOOD MESTER SEKRETORY,[1]—I am sorry my hap was not to meet you at my last being at Court; and although I was not well in health at that time, I am worse at this present of my old colic, or else I had been [had come] in place of my letters, to have spoken with you concerning my lord's great loss and mine in the sale of all our goods, and the increase that should have arisen thereof, our grounds also unstored at this time, [*i. e.*, without stock or crops.] All which your wisdom will consider, I trust, and how far behind-hand it hath brought us, and unable to keep house in many years.

"My servant hath told me that ye have perused the Commission and Privy Seals, wherein ye may see such authority from the *Prince* [Queen Elizabeth:] as for letters, likewise, no mention therof, but rather to have preserved, save that which wanted not help, and that to be sold, but not under the value. I am sure the meaning was such, yet in all these wrongs I offered to take our goods again at the same price as was *prased* [appraised,] as ye know, and yet would, if we might obtain. Otherwise of course must be the laws to have our own again, as all subjects doth. I send you a note of the sale of our goods, and as they were *prased*

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name remains with some traditions, and that unfailing adjunct to a suburban royal domain, a Robin Hood Lane or Gateway—a remarkable place, modern corruption being grafted upon its primitive lack of civilisation. There were lately some antique mulberry trees, braced with iron, lingering in the adjoining gardens. It was the palace of George of Clarence, very conveniently situated across the Thames, opposite to Greenwich Palace. Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, resided here on her visit to Edward IV., as Sir Harris Nicolas proves from their Compotus. The other Cole Harbour, likewise in possession of the Crown, built by a citizen, is most known. All-hallow's Church, Thames Street, was in Stowe's time originally part of its gateway. It does not appear which Cold Harbour was occupied by the Countess of Lennox.

[1] State Paper MS.—Domestic—holograph, hitherto unedited.

[appraised.] Good Mester Sekretory, as my trust is in you, show me favour in my reasonable suit, and that her Majesty may understand our wrongs and great loss, and I shall think myself, as I have done always, bound unto you, and thus scribbled in haste, and so ill I doubt ye cannot read it without the help of my man, to whom I have read it.

"Your assured friend,

"MARGARET LENNOX."

Endorsed by Cecil—"January 27, 1567."

The letter is certainly very illegibly written, apparently in great pain and anxiety of mind. Still the recommendation to Cecil, of calling in the assistance of her man to help to read it, to whom she had first read it as a preliminary to the act of expounding, is naïve enough to excite a smile. Here occurs the first signature which is preserved of the Lady Margaret, wherein she has dispensed with her father's title. Her husband and son had engaged that she should surrender her claims to the earldom of Angus about the period of the assassination of Rizzio, when an unholy alliance took place between them and her wily cousin James, Earl of Morton. Morton himself had visited her in Yorkshire, and obtained her personal concurrence previously to the marriage of Darnley with the Queen of Scots; but Lennox refused to sanction her demission at that period. The concurrence and assistance of Morton in all the political schemes of Lennox was the price paid for that demission.

When the news arrived that Mary, Queen of Scots, had taken refuge in England, Cecil entered in his diary, with no little exultation, the fact that the same day the Countess of Lennox and her husband hastened to Court, to demand justice on their daughter-in-law for the death of her son.[1] "The lady's face," says another contemporary, "was all swelled and stained with tears. She and her lord wore the deepest mourning. They knelt before the Queen, and Lady Margaret cried so passionately for vengeance that Queen Elizabeth affected to soothe her with consoling words, and finished by reproving her, saying 'that such accusations must not rest against the good name of a Princess without further proof.'"[2]

[1] Burghley's Diary—Murdin's State Papers.

[2] Udal's Life of Mary, Queen of Scots.

The following letter from the Lady Margaret, without date of year, excepting from the retrospective mention of Lochleven, and the allusion to the battle of Langside, was written from Cold Harbour. In it Lady Margaret owns to condescending so far as to question for news a servant of her lord, who had just come from Scotland, in hopes of obtaining evidence concerning her son's death; but after the lapse of a few months, it may be observed, she speaks dubiously as to the guilty persons. The Laird of Riccarton seems suspected as one of the minor agents.

"*October* 3, [1568.]

"GOOD MESTER SECRETORY,[1]—I have received your letter, touching the Larde of Richarton's ,[2] and hath learned what I can of a Scottish man who is and was my Lord's servant at his being in Scotland, and he says that such *rune* [report] then was, that the said Larde was cleared by an assizes; but how true it is he cannot tell; and says also that the whole *bruit* [rumour] in Scotland was, that he carried letters to *Cotquell*[3] from the said Queen, since her coming out of Loghleven. This man of my lord's was *presently* [lately] at the last battle between her and the Regent. This is all that I can learn. I would to God I knew the truth to certify you; but my hope is in God that all those which were guilty there shall be known. If Master Grimwood be at Court, he can best declare. If he be at London, I shall speak to him. And with my most hearty thanks in this and all other your friendships shewed to my Lord and me, I commit you to God's protection. From Cold Harbour, the iii. of October.

"Your assured loving frend,

"MARGARET LENOX."

Endorsed—"To my very assured frend, Mr Secretory."

At the investigation of Darnley's murder, so abruptly broken up at York, and by Queen Elizabeth transferred to her own court at Westminster, the Earl of Lennox opened the new commission in the Painted Chamber, by a speech claiming vengeance for his son's death.[4] All the use possible having been made of the parental agony of the Earl and Countess of Lennox, it was intimated to them that they might depart to their devastated home in Yorkshire. Early in the New Year of 1568–9, the scattered members of their household being brought from their various prisons for the journey to Settrington, it seems that the Lady

[1] Cott. MS., Caligula, B. ix. 280. [2] This word is not legible.
[3] The sense would say Bothwell, but the word is very different.
[4] Udal.

Margaret collected her wards once more. Mabel Fortescue was one of the party. She was charged by her guardian, Francis Yaxley, to write duly. It is owing to one of her letters being preserved among the State Papers that the intelligence of the renewed residence of the Lennox family in Yorkshire is gathered. By implication, it may perhaps be inferred that the Lady Margaret's grace had not always been "her very gentle and gracious lady," for that objective particle, "as yet," looks ominously concerning the domestic peace at Settrington House. But if her temper occasionally gave way, there was excuse enough.

"*November* 31.

"My good Governor,[1]—After my most hearty recommendations, through your help I have returned in my lady's most honorable service, whom, *as yet*, I find my very gentle and gracious lady. And now from London we are returned into Yorkshire, and have wrought my part by writing, to give you most hearty thanks for your painstaking in my furtherance into the said service, which shall, I trust, bring to the knowledge of such things, which peradventure I had not seen in my mother's house. And that at our departing out of London it so happened that I could not take my leave of you, I shall desire you, good Governor, to impute it neither to unthankfulness nor ungentleness; for, the time serving not for it, I thought by the next messenger to send you by writing what should supply the same fault, as I trust that, according to your accustomed goodness, you would accept it in good part. Therefore, with hope of your good-will always shewed unto me—after I shall end my letter, wishing unto you health, so farewell. From Settrington in Yorkshire, this Saturday, the last of November.

"Your friend always to command, and your obedient charge,

"Mabel Fortescue.

"Your cousin, Mistress Mary Sillies, hath her humble recommended, with the rest of your charges."

Mistress Mabel's scribe has been, perhaps, swept away in the former break-up at Settrington, for at this period she writes in her own hand, which is a very good one.

It had been well for Lady Margaret and her husband if they had been contented to repose at Settrington during the remainder of their world-worn lives; but the death of the Regent Moray, by the hand of one of the Earl of Lennox's old enemies of the clan Hamilton, roused the restless spirit once more in his breast. Again he came with his lady to London, Somerset House being lent for their

[1] State Paper MS.

abiding-place, and presented an earnest petition to Queen Elizabeth, begging her "to cast her pitiful eyes on the great danger of her fatherless and desolate orphan kinsman, the young King of Scotland." Her poor orators and suppliants, Matthew, Earl of Lennox, and Margaret his wife, beseeching her Majesty "of her goodness and pity, to take measures for the safety of that little innocent, that he may be delivered into her Majesty's hands."[1] Such request suited the policy of Queen Elizabeth remarkably well, and she permitted the Earl of Lennox to return to Scotland for the purpose of bringing the royal infant into England. Margaret did not accompany her lord farther north than one of their seats in Yorkshire, where they parted, never to meet again. She does not appear to have been afflicted with any misgiving that they had bidden each other a last farewell, when he departed to accomplish, in evil hour for himself, the ambitious dream of ruling Scotland—a dream which had haunted him ever since Cardinal Beton had lured him from France, under the delusive pretext of making him Regent for the infant Queen Mary Stuart. It was under the notion of acquiring this eagerly coveted station that he had sold himself to Henry VIII., and subsequently troubled the wedded happiness of his son Darnley and his royal consort, by using his paternal influence to persuade the boy-husband to either wheedle or wrest the sceptre from her hand, in order that he might have the direction of the power of the Crown. The experiment had proved a fatal one to his first-born—but what of that? There was still his grandson, the infant sovereign, in whose name he, Matthew, Earl of Lennox, might reign under the long coveted title of Regent of Scotland. This title was conferred upon him through the influence of Queen Elizabeth, together with the custody of the little King, his grandson. Lennox had pledged himself secretly to deliver this precious little one into the hands of Elizabeth, but he deluded her with fair promises and slavish protestations of his devotion to her service; while Margaret and their son Charles remained as hostages in her realm for his political

[1] Burghley Papers. Ellis's Historical Letters, second series.

subserviency. A strange and perilous position for the whole family; but his proceedings belong to general history.[1]

Scarcely was her husband invested with the long-desired title of Regent of Scotland, when Queen Elizabeth summoned the Lady Margaret to attend her as her first lady at Windsor Castle. There she was but a prisoner at large, yet her spirits evidently rose with the animation and movement of the Court. As the grandmother of the heir of England, and present monarch of Scotland, her rank, notwithstanding her terrible misfortunes, seemed higher than ever. In this brief sunshine of hope the Lady Margaret thus wrote to her old correspondent Cecil, announcing that she had recently heard from her husband the Regent, and the infant King:—[2]

"WINDSOR, *October* 10, 1570.

"MESTER SEKRETORY,—I cannot but visit you with some lines, my lord's man *coming there*, [having arrived here.] I beseech you to remember, next to our Sovereign Lady, that innocent King, that he and her may not be the worse for any treaty. I pray you to make my hearty commendations to Mester Mildmay, whom I do request for the same.[3] I assure you I find her Majesty well minded for the preservation of him [the infant James VI.,] and those that belongs to him. I travail as I can. God spet [speed] me well! and inspire her Majesty's heart to do for her own surety, and then I know the rest shall fare the better. I will not trouble you with longer letter, but *sends* you my heartly commendations. From the court at Windsor, this x. of October.

"Your assured frend,

"MARGARET LENNOX.

"I pray you, good Mester Sekretory, certify my lord [her husband] of his request declared to you by this bearer."

At this period, the Lady Margaret being supposed to possess influence with the Queen, the French ambassador, La Mothe Fénélon, strove to make interest with her, to promote the marriage of the Duke of Alençon with her royal cousin.

"I have entered into some intelligence with the Countess of Lennox," says La Mothe Fénélon to his Sovereign,[4] "by pretending to promise her much on the part of your

[1] Tytler's History of Scotland. Diurnal of Occurrents. State Paper Correspondence.

[2] State Paper Office MS.—Lady Lennox to Cecil, October 10, 1570, Windsor. Holograph, unedited.

[3] Envoy to Scotland.

[4] Dépêche de La Mothe Fénélon, vol. iv. p. 84.

Majesty for her infant grandson, James of Scotland, if she and the Earl, her husband, would agree with the Queen of Scots; and I have demonstrated to her that the marriage with Monsieur cannot be otherwise than advantageous to her: for if the Queen of England should ever have children, the said Lady of Lennox ought to wish them to be French, because of the perfect union there would always be between them and her grandson; and if her Majesty should have no issue, still Monsieur would always be found ready to advance the right of her grandson to this Crown, against all the others who were now pretending to it. On this the Countess sent to me, that she entreated your Majesty to take her grandson under your protection, and to believe that her husband was as devoted and affectionate a servant to the Crown as any of his predecessors had been; that she, on her part, desired the marriage of Monsieur with her mistress more than anything in the world; and that, holding the place nearest to her (as first lady of the blood-royal) of any one in this realm, she had already counselled and persuaded her to it with all affection. She has given me all the information on this head that she could; but up to the present hour she could only tell me this, 'That, by all the appearances she could observe in the Queen, she seemed to be not only well-disposed, but very affectionately inclined to the marriage; and that she generally talked of nothing but of Monsieur's virtues and perfections; that she dressed herself better, rejoicing herself, and assuming more of the belle, and more sprightliness, on his account; but that she did not communicate much on this subject with her ladies, and seemed as if she reserved it entirely between herself and the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley.'" [1]

Margaret received the following letter from her unfortunate niece and daughter-in-law the captive Queen of Scots, soon after the arrival of the Earl of Lennox in Edinburgh:—

"MADAM,—If the wrong and false reports of rebels, enemies well known for traitors to you, and, alas! too much trusted of me by your advice, had

[1] See Life of Elizabeth, in "Lives of the Queens of England," by Agnes Strickland.

not so far stirred you against my innocency, and I must say against all kindness, that you have not only, as it were, condemned me wrongfully, but so hated me, as some words and open deeds has testified to all the world, a manifest misliking in you against your own blood, I would not have omitted thus long my duty in writing to you, excusing me of these untrue reports made of me. But hoping, with God's grace and time, to have my innocency known to you, as I trust it is already to most indifferent persons, I thought it best not to trouble you for a time, till such a matter is moyed that toucheth us both, which is transporting your little son, [*grandson, James VI.*] and my only child into this country. To the which, albeit I be never so willing, I would be glad to have your advice therein, as in all other things tending him. I have borne him, and God knows with what danger to him and me both—and of you he is descended. So I mean not to forget my duty to you in showing herein any unkindness to you, how unkindly that ever ye have dealt with me, but will love you as my aunt, and respect you as my *moder*-in-law. And if ye please to know farther of my mind, in that and all other things betwixt us, my ambassador the Bishop of Ross shall be ready to confer with you. And so, after my hearty commendations remitting me to my said ambassador, and your better consideration, I commit you to the protection of Almighty God, whom I pray to preserve you and my brother Charles, [*Lord Charles Lennox,*] and cause you to know my part better than ye now do.

"From Chatsworth, this x. of July 1570.

"Your natural gude niece and loving daughter.

"To my Ladie Lennox, my Moder-in-law."[1]

This letter, which breathes the honest pride of conscious innocence in its quiet dignity, appears to have made some impression on the heart of the bereaved mother of Darnley, if we may judge from the bitter asperity with which her husband, the newly-elected Regent of Scotland, comments upon it in his reply to his "sweet Madge," who had dutifully transmitted it for his consideration, requesting him to answer it. Lady Lennox's letter on the subject is unfortunately not forthcoming; but as it suited not Lennox that she should be impressed with any doubts of the guilt of the captive Sovereign of Scotland, whose seat of empire he then occupied, he assured his confiding wife that he had evidence of Mary's guilt by her own "*handwrit*, as well as by the confessions of men gone to the death." Two statements not borne out by facts, seeing that the men who were executed for Darnley's murder exonerated the Queen, with their last breath, of being concerned in that deed; and Morton himself acknowledged that Bothwell "could not produce

[1] Robertson's Dissertation—History of Scotland, vol. ii.

the Queen's handwriting, in token of her desire for Darnley's death." Assuredly if Lennox, or any other of Mary's accusers, could have shown her handwriting to convict her, they would have done so. But whatever Lennox said of Mary's letter, it is certain that he, very soon after his receipt of it, took a step remarkably inconvenient to the actual murderers of his son—even that of entering into a correspondence with the King of Denmark, to whom, in March 1570–1, he sent Thomas Buchanan[1] as his especial envoy, requesting that Bothwell might be sent back to Scotland for examination. The reply of Buchanan came through Morton's hands, who was then in London plotting iniquity with the Council of Elizabeth. It was by no means relished by the Earl of Morton and his secretary, Makgill, the Clerk-Register. They broke open Buchanan's letter, and sent to the expecting Regent the following account of it, which Lennox entered in his own register as follows,[2] "We" (Morton and Co., at London) "received a letter written forth of Denmark, by Mr Thomas Buchanan, to your Grace, of the date of the 20th of Jan., and because we judged some things might be specified therein which might be expedient to be remembered upon *heir*, we took the boldness to open and read the letter, which it may please your Grace to presently receive. The cause why it has been so long sending was, that we thought it best not to commit it to the *throuch-post*, or a common messenger; for that we had no will [that] the contents of the same be known, fearing that some words and matters mentioned in the same, being dispersed here as *novellis* [news,] suld rather have hindered *nor* [than] furthered *our cause*. Therefore, being desired at Court (by Elizabeth's cabinet) to show the letters, we gave to understand that we had sent the principal away, and *delivered a copy, omitting sic things as we thought not meet to be shown*, as your Grace may perceive by the like copy, which also we have sent you herewith, which ye may communicate to such as your Grace thinks not expedient

[1] The brother of the historian George Buchanan.
[2] Goodall, vol. i. p. 382.

to communicate the whole contents of the letter. March 24, 1570-1."

But garbling the Danish communications did not long answer. Bothwell, as proved by many sources, was steady in clearing the Queen of all wrong-doing, and in accusing his fellow-murderers. He had not yet accused himself, being in health and strength, as early as 1570-1. Lennox continued his correspondence with his Danish Majesty, and all the letters he received were not broken open by those who found their contents inconvenient; he received intelligence which caused enmity to ensue between him and Morton.

Many letters appear to have passed between the Lady Margaret and her spouse, while he was the Regent of Scotland. There is a notation in a letter of the Countess of Shrewsbury's newsmonger[1] to this effect: "The Earl of Lennox hath written to his wife that the young King, [James VI.,] his grandson, hath the mark of a lion on his side." The child was now entering his fifth year; and as his intellect was lively, and his memory good, he probably remembered Lennox as the only relative he ever saw. The little King, assisted by his grandsire Regent, opened his Parliament in person, Sept. 3; and here it was that, noticing a hole in the slates of the hall, he added of his own accord, to the set speech they had taught him, the words—"This Parliament has got ane hole in it."[2] This speech, which, from such an orator in modern and happier times, would have convulsed a modern assembly with laughter, was heard by the convened barons and burgesses of Scotland with horror and alarm, for they deemed the spirit of prophecy was descending on babes and sucklings, and that their infant monarch unconsciously alluded to the impending fate of some one of the most eminent among them. This omen they deemed fulfilled in the succeeding week, when his grandfather, the unfortunate father of the unfortunate Darnley, was in his turn the victim

[1] News-letter of Hugh Fitzwilliam to the Countess of Shrewsbury, July 27, 1571—Hunter's Hallamshire.

[2] Spottiswood's Ecclesiastical History.

of assassins in Scotland. He was shot on horseback by Captain Calder near Stirling Castle,[1] where the infant King then was residing. The Earl of Mar, with but sixteen brave faithful soldiers, aided by the townsmen of Stirling, drove off the murderers, and brought the wounded Regent to the castle. He was on horseback, and would not alight till he was safe within its walls. He thought so much more of the safety of the royal child than himself, that he said, dreading lest the little King should have been harmed by the conspirators, "If the babe be well, all is well." When he was laid on a bed, and his wound examined, he was told his bowels were cut, and that his life drew to a close. On this intelligence he desired the nobility in the castle might be called round his bed, and spoke to them these words:—

"I am now, my Lords, to leave you at God's good pleasure, to go to a world where there is rest and peace. You know it was not my ambition, but your choice, which brought me to the charge I have this while sustained—which I undertook the more willingly, because I was assured of your assistance in the defence of the infant King, whose protection by nature and duty I could not refuse. And now, being able to do no more, I must commend him to the Almighty God, and to your care, entreating you to continue his defence, (wherein I do assure you, in God's name, the victory.) Make choice of some worthy person fearing God, and affectionate to the infant King, to succeed in my place. And I commend to your favour my servants, who have never received benefit at my hands; and desire you to remember my love to my wife, Meg, whom I beseech God to comfort." [2]

Queen Elizabeth was at Lees, the seat of Lord Rich, when the fatal tidings came of this appalling tragedy.

[1] Tytler. Hunter's Hallamshire. Another news-letter of Fitzwilliam says that a traitor in the garrison let Calder into the castle through the postern gate: if so, Lennox was shot within the precincts. It was out of vengeance for the death of Archbishop Hamilton that this enterprise was undertaken by a party of the Hamilton faction.

[2] He was buried with great magnificence in the chapel of Stirling Castle. The Earl of Mar succeeded to the regency. The assassin of Lennox was broken on the wheel, the criminal law of Scotland being terribly cruel.

Lord Burghley, who was with her Majesty, concludes his letter, dated September 8, 1571, to Sir Thomas Smith, Clerk of the Council, with these remarkable words, after describing Calder's attack near Stirling Castle, and the reported death of the Regent Lennox:—"Let Mr Sadler know hereof; but otherwise disperse [divulge] it not, lest it be not true that he is dead; and I would have not knowledge come to Lady Lennox before she shall have it from the Queen's Majesty." It was Queen Elizabeth herself, then, on whom devolved the office of breaking to her afflicted kinswoman the dreadful loss she had sustained; for Lennox, if not very valuable to any one living creature besides, was all the world to his Margaret.

How Margaret received the news of the loss of the partner with whom she had passed twenty-six years of uninterrupted affection cannot be told; but hers was a mind which diverted its sorrow by artistical symbolical memorials. She has left a token of the love she bore her husband in a large jewel, which was lately in the collection of historical relics at Strawberry Hill, and is now in the possession of her Majesty. It was one of those fanciful devices with which an imaginative character seeks to divert the poignancy of grief in an early season of bereavement. It is a large heart of gold, about the size of the palm of a hand, splendidly enamelled with various emblems.

The front of this memorial locket is enriched with the Douglas badge in gems. Two angels enamelled support a large heart made of a rough uncut sapphire, placed between a pair of wings. Another pair of angels sustain the Scottish crown, formed of emeralds and rubies. Thus the badge of the Douglas, the paternal house of the Countess Margaret, is fully made out—all but the colour of the bloody heart, which was not properly represented by the sapphire.[1] The Douglas badge is movable; by touching a spring it opens, and a wreath of green, with two hearts, is seen conjoined, of red enamel, accompanied with an inscription

[1] It is, however, here substituted by Margaret to signify that the heart was surcharged with grief, the sapphire being the mourning gem proper to widows.

resembling the posy of a ring:—"QUHAT · VE · RESOLVE·"

Then a monogram, the initials of Margaret Lennox Stuart, with a death's-head in black, on a white ground; and beneath the rhyme of the first line—"DEATH · SHALL · DISSOLVE." There are two hands clasped, and a green hunting-horn, the fillet of white enamel beneath, encloses the whole device with this inscription:—

"QUHA · HOPIS · STIL · CONSTANTLY · WITH · PATIENCE·
/SAL · OBTEIN · VICTORIA · IN · YAIR · PRESENCE"

"Who hopes still constantly with patience,
Shall obtain victory in your presence."

On the reverse of the locket is seen the red Tudor dragon, a phœnix in the flames, a Marguerite flower turning fondly to the setting sun, and a pelican feeding its young from its bleeding breast—in allusion to the death of the Countess's beloved partner, who lost his life endeavouring to protect the orphan of his murdered son. The inscription is as follows, in Roman capitals, on a white enamel fillet, enclosing all these emblems—

"MY · STAIT · TO · YOU·
I · MAY · COMPAIR·
ZOU · QUHA · BONTES · RAIR"

This posy rhyme certainly alludes to the pelican, and runs thus:—

"My state to yours
I may compare,
You,—who's bounty's rare."

The inside of the locket is vacant. It is large enough to hold a full-sized miniature, and is enamelled with devices representing suffering and martyrdom, stakes, flames—and a fiend is seen. Truth is being drawn from a well; and a crowned queen sits on a throne. The inscription is mysterious, and partially defaced. The first words seem to allude to Mary, Queen of Scots, then imprisoned, as part of it is, "GAR · TEL · MY · RELEAS;" then the unintelligible "TYM · GARES · ALLEIR · ZEN · IM · MY · PLESUR." The

Lady Margaret always wore this jewel about her neck, or at her girdle: the ring for that purpose, attached to it, has been much used.

Margaret was a patroness of the fine arts; and that she caused painting occasionally to be employed in embodying her mournful memory of the loved and lost, may be seen by the evidence of the curious historical picture of herself and her family group now in the possession of her august descendant, Queen Victoria. The scene is a chapel, probably Margaret's own private place of worship at Settrington, for it is decorated with all the insignia of the proscribed faith, of which she continued an adherent, even when her husband openly supported the doctrines of the Reformation in Scotland as the Regent of that realm. The altar of the chapel is strictly of the Roman Catholic form, raised on three steps, with the image of the Saviour therein, as large as life, leaning on the Cross. James VI. of Scotland—a very lovely smiling infant, about two years old — kneels before the altar, wearing an arched crown and regal mantle, bearing his sceptre. Behind the little King kneel his grandfather, the Lady Margaret herself, and Lord Charles. Margaret is handsome and noble-looking. She is attired in a close black mourning-gown, with a fur collar and small ruff, a partlet. On her head is a close black velvet cap, bordered with fur. Her mourning-gown is passamented and clasped with aglets, save at the bottom, where it is open; her gloves and book are laid with precision at her feet. Her lord kneels at her right hand. His head is bare; and, indeed, all that was said of the majesty and stateliness of his person may well be believed from this portrait. Lord Charles kneels behind them. He is very like his mother, but dull and heavy in expression. The cenotaph to Darnley is very curious. His figure in plate armour, raising the hands to Heaven, is extended on an altar tomb. Banners with the royal arms of Scotland, and his family arms from Angus and Lennox, hang over the cenotaph. Scutcheons surround the cenotaph of the Scottish arms; and these are bordered with the order of St Michael, with the scallop-shells that formed the collar.

There are two medallions which are very remarkable on the tomb—one representing two ruffians lifting the dead body of Darnley out of a tent-bed, where they have strangled him. A species of door, with a small portcullis raised up to the ceiling, is where they mean to egress with the strangled corpse. There is no doubt this minute memorial gives the plan of the antique room where the foul deed was done. The other medallion represents Darnley's body and that of his murdered page, Taylor, grouped together dead in the orchard of Kirk-o'-Field. Some ruins and fragments of the house are near them. In the corner to the right of the picture, in a frame, is the scene at Carberry Hill. Labels issue from the mouths of all the portraits, crying to the image of the Saviour for vengeance; and were it not for this barbarism, the picture would present a fine historical group.[1] The time of its composition is doubtful, but it was certainly during the life of Lennox, and probably just before he left Settrington for his fatal regency. Whensoever it was, the Lady Margaret's hatred against Mary Queen of Scots was still in activity, which was totally altered before she died.

The meditations of the Lady Margaret as a widow, during the first weeks of her bereavement, evidently led her to the idea of how she should best educate her son Charles, the only dear one who had not been torn from her by assassins. She evidently came to the conclusion, that if he was placed in Cecil's family among his wards—perhaps if the Court rulers fashioned his belief their own way — he might be spared to her. Margaret was passing the first weeks of her widowhood at Islington, probably at Canonbury House, when she was awakened to the fact that her fatherless boy, being masterless, was getting beyond her control; she therefore endeavoured to provide for his tuition, in a letter which will be read with historical interest when it is found that she discusses

[1] Engraved by G. Virtue, under the patronage of Queen Caroline, consort of George II. The inscription beneath the engraving perpetuates what it found on the original—that the scene represented a cenotaph to the memory of Henry, King of Scotland, with his relatives praying for vengeance. There is a picture at Hampton Court in the same style, and evidently of the same era, but without the Lady Margaret.

therein the education of her murdered son Darnley. Cecil had at this time become Lord Burghley.

[ISLINGTON, *Nov.* 4, 1571.]

"MY VERY GOOD LORD, — Entering into consideration with myself of the many ways I have approvedly found your lordship most friendly to me and mine, I could not long delay to *bewray* [betray] unto you a special grief which long time, but chiefly of late, hath grown upon me through the bringing up of my only son Charles, whose well-doing and prosperity in all things comely for his calling should be my greatest comfort — so the contrary I might not avoid to be my greatest *dolour* [sorrow.] And having awakened myself lately, I have found that his father's absence so long time in his riper years hath made lack to be in him divers ways that were answerable in his brother [Lord Darnley,] whose education and bringing up, living only at home with his father and me, at his coming to Court I suppose was not misliked of. And though the good hap of this [Lord Charles] hath not been to have that help of the father's company that his brother had, whereby at these years he is somewhat unfurnished in qualities needful: and I, being now a lone widow, am less able to have him well reformed at home than before. Yet, the special care I have that he might be able to continue a worthy memory of his father's house, and to serve his Prince and country hereafter (to my joy, if God lend me life) hath enforced me for redress to desire your good lordship, above all the pleasures that ever you did me, to accept my said son [Charles] into your house, to be brought up and instructed as the wards be, so long time as shall be needful; in which doing you shall not only bind me, but him and his friends, to pray for your lordship, and be yours assured during life, as knoweth the Almighty, to whose protection I commit your lordship, referring the rest to the bearer's credit. From Islington, this 4 of November, 1571.

"Your Lordship's assured loving friend,

"MARGARET LENNOX."

Endorsed—"To my very good Lord, the Lord Burghley, at the Court."

The bearer of this missive, it is plain, had some further intelligence to communicate by word of mouth to Lord Burghley—something touching the pranks of my Lord Charles, which his lady-mother did not wish to dictate to her scribe, for she only signed this long letter, which was written by one of her secretaries. It is doubtful whether her request was ever complied with by the cautious premier.

If Lord Burghley did not comply with the request of the Lady Margaret in receiving her son Charles under his roof, he insisted on providing him with a Protestant tutor. In the spring of the succeeding year the Lady Margaret admitted in consequence into her family a relative of

Zuinglius, a Swiss Protestant of the name of Malliet—called Mallet by English authors. How he accommodated his Zuinglian creed to the religion of Lady Margaret cannot be precisely determined; but as he was a favoured inmate of the lady till her death, it may be guessed that Peter Malliet did not very closely adhere to the tenets of his uncle. Soon after his settlement at Hackney, where the Lady Margaret now had fixed her chief residence, Malliet wrote to his Swiss cousins the following account of his employment: — "I have the office of governor and tutor to the young Earl of Lennox, brother of the King of Scots who was murdered [Darnley,] and uncle of the present one, [James VI.]" His lordship, he complained, was a very great hindrance to his studies; "but, induced by the entreaties and promises of the greatest personages in this kingdom, I could not decline to undertake that burden for a limited time, since I am at full liberty to leave this place whenever I choose. The youth is just entering on his sixteenth year, and gives great promise of hope for the future; for in case the present King, his nephew, should die without lawful issue, he is the sole successor by hereditary right to the Crown of Scotland, and is entitled to be placed at the head of that kingdom and empire. So also, no one is more nearly allied to the royal blood of England, after the death of the present Queen, than his mother, to whom her only son is the heir—although there is now held an assembly, called a parliament, to the end that the undisputed heir may be appointed. What will be the issue I know not. I hear, among other things, the capital punishment of the Queen of Scots has been debated. The Duke of Norfolk has been condemned, and still lies in the Tower." [1]

[1] The date is "May 26, 1572, London, from the Hostel of the Grays, commonly called Gray's Inn." His postscript comprises his request to be remembered to the Swiss reformers Gualter, Simler, and Lavater; likewise those dear sisters, Truth and Dorothy, the Protestant Bullinger's daughters. —Zurich Letters, second series—Parker Society, p. 200-202. Master Malliet followed the Lady Margaret to the Tower with as much constancy as if his name had been Francis Malliet the priest, her old acquaintance in the household of her cousin Queen Mary.

The Lady Margaret, her only son, and his Protestant tutor, went on quietly at Hackney. The lady herself, being in waiting on Queen Elizabeth, took her turns of duty at Court. But in course of time, not having sufficiently in memory her own former troubles concerning love affairs and marriage, she began to consult and colleague with certain dowagers regarding the marriage of her son, Lord Charles. Katharine, the Dowager-Duchess of Suffolk, seems to have been the leading counsel on the occasion. Margaret obtained leave of the Queen to go to Settrington, on the old excuse that some of her friends in Scotland meant to steal away the young King, and bring him to England. But Queen Elizabeth suspected that her real intention was to have a conference with Mary, Queen of Scots; for she knew that, of late, the Lady Margaret had been dubious concerning the implication of Mary in the murder of Darnley. The idea infuriated her Majesty, for reasons best known to herself. Perhaps the question occurred to her, which must naturally arise to every other reasoning mind—If the mother of Darnley could believe Mary Stuart innocent, who can assert her guilt, excepting those shackled to the chariot-wheels of political party or self-interest?

The Lady Margaret departed for the north, with her son Charles, the young Earl of Lennox, about the 9th of Oct. 1574, having previously had an extraordinary conversation with Queen Elizabeth, who appears, from Margaret's account of it in an original letter which will presently be given, to have had a jealous suspicion of the intercourse which certainly had existed between that Princess and the captive Queen of Scots. The French ambassador[1] says that Margaret left the Court at that time for her house in the north, with the intention, if matters in Scotland were propitious to her journey, of proceeding on to Stirling to visit her grandson, the little Prince (James VI.) "I greatly suspect," adds his Excellency, "that she has no other purpose than to transfer the little Prince into England." The Lady Margaret had purposes which the ambassador

[1] Despatch of La Mothe Fénélon to the King of France, Henry III. Oct. 15, 1574.

guessed not. She never went to Scotland—and, according to her own account, she never went to Chatsworth or Sheffield; but Lady Shrewsbury, and her daughter Elizabeth Cavendish, came to meet her and her son on the way at the seat of the Duchess of Suffolk, at Huntingdon, and invited them to her neighbouring house at Rufford, where all was prepared for their entertainment.[1] Here Charles Stuart fell in love, at first sight, with the fair Elizabeth Cavendish; and so well did the three dowagers encourage and fan the flame, that the lovers were willing to marry at the earliest notice. Lord Shrewsbury, the bride's stepfather, very drily observes, in his apologetic and explanatory letter to Queen Elizabeth, "It was dealt with so suddenly, without my knowledge, as I dare insure [assure] to your Majesty; for my wife finding her daughter disappointed of young Barte [Bertie], where she hoped, and as the other young gentleman [Lord Charles] was inclined to love with a few days' acquaintance, she did her best to further her daughter to this match, without having therein other intent than with reverent duty to your Majesty."

It was not until November 17, 1574, that the wrath of Queen Elizabeth exploded publicly concerning the marriage of Charles Stuart and Elizabeth Cavendish. That day the Queen summoned the Lady Margaret and her son from the north, threatening imprisonment in the Tower to all concerned in the marriage.[2] Some days were required for the royal messengers to make their way through flood and over fell in November; and when the summons of the Queen reached the hands of the Lady Margaret, she obeyed it slowly and reluctantly, knowing, by sad experience, what awaited her. In the beginning of December she had only advanced as far as Huntingdon, where she came to a halt and rest, per-force, according to her own naïve excuses, "somewhat to refresh herself and her o'erwearied mules, which had become both crooked and

[1] State Paper Letter above quoted. Letter printed in Hunter's Hallamshire.

[2] La Mothe Fénélon—Despatches to Henry III.—London, November 1574.

lame with their extreme labour by the way," in passing the dangerous waters. Thus we find that the second lady in the land, with her son and his bride, were dragged through mud and water, in an English November, by strings of mules, which were fitter far to trot over the sunny hills of Andalusia or Castile. But as to the poor animals becoming crooked in the course of their service, that is a novel feature in their natural history, which, in the present times, might have been communicated by my Lady Margaret to the Zoological Society, but neither to the Queen nor to her prime-minister.

While the unfortunate travellers and their mules were resting at Huntingdon, the Lady Margaret employed herself in compounding letters of excuse and explanation on all Queen Elizabeth had taken amiss. She wrote the same day both to the Earl of Leicester and to Lord Burghley, but took the precaution to enclose a copy of her letter to Leicester in that to Burghley, as they both remain to this hour in our archives.

"HUNTINGDON, *December* 3, 1574.

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,[1]—Assuring myself of your friendship, I will use but few words at this present, other than to let you understand of my wearisome journey, and the heavy burden of the Queen's Majesty's displeasure, which I know well I have not deserved, together with a letter of small comfort that I received from my Lord of Leicester, which, being of your lordship read, I shall desire to be returned to me again. I also send unto your lordship, here enclosed, the copy of my letter now sent to my Lord of Leicester; and I beseech you to use your friendship towards me as you see *time* [opportunity.] Thus, with my most hearty commendations, I commit you to Almighty God, whom I beseech to send you long life to your heart's desire. Huntingdon, this 3 of December,

"Your Lordship's assured loving friend,

"MARGARET LENNOX."

Endorsed—"To the Right Honourable my very good lord and friend, the Lord-Treasurer of Yngland."

The letter received from Lord Leicester, "of small comfort," no doubt announced the Queen's displeasure, and commanded the return of the truant lady, the bride and bridegroom, and all aiding and abetting the bridal. Leices-

[1] State Paper MS.—Domestic—hitherto unedited. Holograph of Margaret, Countess of Lennox, to Lord Burghley, December 3, 1574—Huntingdon.

ter's epistle to Margaret has parted company from the rest of its associates, and is not forthcoming. If it were, no doubt some light would be cast on the following curious narrative of explanation, addressed to Leicester, which the poor Lady Margaret vainly hoped would avert the wrath of the Queen. She wrote it while resting at Huntingdon:—

"HUNTINGDON, *December* 3, 1574.

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,[1]—The great unquietness and trouble that I have had with passing these dangerous waters, which hath many times enforced me to leave my way [the road], which hath been some hindrance unto me, that hitherto I have not answered your lordship's letters, chiefly on that point wherein your lordship, with other my friends (as your lordship says), seems *ingnorante* how to answer for me. And being forced to stay this present Friday in Huntingdon, somewhat to refresh myself, and my overlabored *moyles*, that are both crooked and lame with their extreme labor by the way, I thought good to lay open to your lordship, in these few lines, what I have to [say] for me, touching my going to Rufforth to my Lady of Shrewsbury, both being thereunto very earnestly requested, and the place not one mile distant out of my way. Yea, and a much fairer way [better road], as is well to be proved; and my lady meeting me herself upon the way, I could not refuse, it being near xxx miles from Sheffield."

It is supposed that she means to imply that, as Rufford was thirty miles from the abiding-place of the Queen of Scots, Queen Elizabeth could have no objection to her going there. However, the very curious conversation that had occurred between her Majesty and Margaret on the subject is thus related by the latter:—"And as it was well known to all the country thereabouts that great provision was there made both for my Lady of Suffolk and me—who friendly brought me on the way to Grantham, and so departed home again, neither she nor I knowing any such thing till the morning after I came to Newark. And as I meant simply and well, so did I least mistrust that my doings should be taken in evil part. For, at my coming from her Majesty, I perceived she misliked of my Lady of Suffolk being at Chatsworth, I *asker* her Majesty, if I were bidden [invited] thither, for that had been my wonted way before, if I might *goo?* She prayed me not, lest it should be thought I should agree with the Queen of Scots.

[1] State Paper MS.—Margaret, Countess of Lennox, to the Earl of Leicester—hitherto unedited.

And I asked her Majesty, 'If she could think so, for I was made of flesh and blood, and could never forget the murther of my child.' And she said, 'Nay, by her faith, she could not think so that ever I could forget it, for if I would I were a devil.' Now, my lord, for the hasty marriage of my son [Charles], after that he had entangled himself so that he could have none other, I refer the same to your lordship's good consideration, whether it was not most fitly for me to marry them, he being mine only son and comfort that is left me. And your lordship can bear me witness how desirous I have been to have had a match for him other than this. And the Queen's Majesty, much to my comfort, to that end gave me good words at my departure." [1]

Who the candidate for the hand of Lord Charles might be, approved by the Queen, is not mentioned; but her disappointment was perhaps alleged by her Majesty, in extenuation of her very severe mode of terminating the bridal festivities. The rest of the Lady Margaret's letter consists of entreaties for "some comfort from her Majesty, to help to lighten me of my heavy burden of this most wearisome journey." But small comfort was there for my Lady Margaret at the end of it. She arrived at Hackney in due course of time, and wrote from thence a letter to Leicester, on the 10th of December, of which the following sentences are the gist:—"I did not mistrust her Majesty would have been offended with me for seeing the Countess of Shrewsbury,[2] . . . so that I neither went to Chatsworth (which was the place her Majesty did mislike of;) nor yet near Sheffield, by thirty miles at the least." It is to be observed, that Margaret does not deny having seen the Queen of Scots. "And surely, my lord," she continues, "as touching the marriage, other dealing or longer practice there was none, but the sudden affection of my son, as heretofore I have written unto your lordship, to be a mean unto her Majesty to pity my cause [case] and painful travel, and to have com-

[1] State Paper MS.—Margaret, Countess of Lennox, to the Earl of Leicester —hitherto unedited.

[2] State Paper MS.—holograph—Margaret, Countess of Lennox, to the Earl of Leicester, dated Hackney, Dec. 10, 1574. Hitherto unedited.

passion on my *widowesh estate* [widowed state], being aged and of many cares." This rather touching appeal being made to one who had no sympathy for "widowesh" troubles, nor motherly cares, was made in vain. Two days afterwards she presented herself at Court, but was received by the Queen so as to elicit the following remark from the French ambassador:—"December 12. Lady Lennox came this day to Court. She fears greatly the indignation of Queen Elizabeth, her mistress, and that she will send her to the Tower on account of the marriage of her son. Still she relies on friends, whom she hopes will save her from this blow."[1]

The instincts and perceptions of poor Lady Margaret as to who were her friends, and who her enemies, among the hollow courtiers of Elizabeth, were not very accurate. In this instance her tormentors made their approaches, as usual, in narrowing circles, inspiring increasing terror. At first, the Lady Margaret, her son the Earl, and the young Countess of Lennox, her daughter-in-law, received the royal commands not to stir from their abode; and, above all, not to speak to any one but those whom the Privy Council permitted to listen to them.[2] Curious instances of freedom in this realm of England! The restrictions on the tongues of the unhappy bride, and her noble mother-in-law, arrived at Hackney, Christmas Eve, and of course extinguished all their Christmas merriment. In a few days the Lady Margaret was torn from her son and daughter-in-law, and carried off to her former gaol in the Tower. She was used to these inflictions, and made the following observation, as I heard her speak it, says Udal:[3]—"Thrice have I been cast into prison, not for matters of treason, but for love matters. First, when Thomas Howard, son to Thomas, first Duke of Norfolk, was in love with myself; then for the love of Henry Darnley, my son, to Queen Mary of Scotland; and, lastly, for the love of Charles, my younger

[1] Despatches of La Mothe Fénélon to Henry III., Dec. 12, 1574.
[2] Ibid., Dec. 24, 1574.
[3] Udal's Life of Mary, Queen of Scots, printed for Will. Sheares, at the sign of the Harrow, New Exchange.

son, to Elizabeth Cavendish." On the present occasion, the Countess of Shrewsbury, the mother of the bride, had likewise been provided with penal lodgings in the Tower —an instance of impartiality—as the Lady Margaret was brought there for the crime of being mother to the bridegroom. A commission was granted by Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Huntingdon,[1] one of the distant claimants to the English succession—an invidious rival to the title of the Princesses of the Tudor lineage—to hold a Court, and examine Fowler, and all the Lady Margaret's old servants, regarding this marriage, which was likely to raise up to the Crown heirs in his way. These inquisitions moved slowly, and the mothers of the bride and bridegroom consequently spent many a weary week in the Tower, in the spring of 1575. It was not the first imprisonment there of the untamable Bess of Hardwicke, and was not to be the last; but our Lady Margaret had been tamed to her cage by long years of durance and acute sorrow. She was only released to mark the first stages of consumption invade the frame of her only surviving son, Charles. This may be learned from the hobbling verses of one of her inmates or servants, John Philipps, which are quoted, not for their beauty, but for their use as embodying facts that have escaped all other writers, although, of course, intimately known to him. The following information is given, as if his lady spoke:—

"At Hackney with me Lord Charles did abide,
And wedded he was to a lady full dear,
By whom God, for my comfort, list to provide
A young tender infant, mine heart for to cheer.
Arbella was named that young lady fair,
But death from me reft her father, my son,
Whose loss to lament with tears I begun."[2]

That Lord Charles Lennox survived till the beginning of the year 1577, may be proved by the unfinished will made by Mary, Queen of Scots, in that year, partly written in her own hand, partly in that of Nau, wherein she says, "I make a gift of the county of Lennox to the Earl of Lennox,

[1] Udal's Life of Queen Mary. Likewise Notation in State Paper Office.
[2] "Commemoration of the Lady Margaret Douglas."

held by his late father, and command my son, (James VI.,) as my heir and successor, to obey this my behest." She dates this clause at the Manor of Sheffield, in England, the day of 1577. Then follows a fragmentary passage in her own hand, in which, in case of her son's death, she appears to appoint the succession either to the Earl of Lennox—viz., Lord Charles Lennox—or the Lord Claud Hamilton, whichever shall have shown himself most faithful towards herself, and the most constant in his religion. This makes it probable that Lord Charles, although educated by a Swiss tutor, was a Roman Catholic as well as his mother.

Another and a more important clause confirms a subsequent statement of Mary herself, in her letter to her ambassador, Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, that she was on terms of friendship with the Countess of Lennox for several years before the death of that lady:—

"And I restore to my aunt of Lennox all the rights that she can pretend to the earldom of Angus, previously to the grant or accord made by my commandment between my said aunt of Lennox and the Earl of Morton, seeing that it was then made by the late King my husband and me, on the promise of his [Morton's] faithful assistance if he [the King] and me were in danger and required his aid, which promise he broke by his secret understanding with our enemies and rebels that made the enterprise against his [the King's] life, and also took up arms and bore banners displayed against us."[1]

After the death of Charles, Earl of Lennox, his poor bereaved mother fell into "a languishing decay." Hope was at last extinct in the heart that had borne up so long and bravely against unparalleled misfortunes and injuries. Poverty, with all its attendant sufferings, which are tenfold in infliction on the highly-born, assailed her, bowed down as she was with grief. Her income at the best of times

[1] From the original French, printed in the Appendix of Dr Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. ii.—the original document being preserved in the Cotton. Library, British Museum. The succeeding paragraph, bearing strongly on the disputed point of Mary's guilt or innocence, is of course postponed to that biography in the ensuing volume.

never covered the expenses of her family. Now it left her altogether; for the estates that Henry VIII., her uncle, had given her husband when he fled from Scotland and married, were settled on their heirs-male; and her own dower, as may be seen by her jointure, was on the lands of the Earl of Lennox, in Scotland.[1] From thence she could draw no supplies—the land was racked with civil war. Her cousin Morton was Regent—he was ever ready to take from her, not to give support. The death of her son Charles seems to have bereft her of all support; the Yorkshire lands and lordships went entirely from her, and from the little fatherless Arabella, her granddaughter, who was heiress to nought but sorrow and a royal pedigree. There was no chance of pecuniary relief from Queen Elizabeth; for, at this period of her life, the mother of Darnley had fully and freely acknowledged the innocence of Mary, Queen of Scots. She had not only entered into amicable correspondence with her, but had asked her pardon for the injury she had suffered from her long and cruel accusations.[2] Margaret knew her time on earth was short, and what recked it to her whether the truth was inconvenient to the ruling powers here below or not? One infant girl, the Lady Arabella, the daughter of her son Charles, was all that remained to her of her once fair and numerous family; and for her she might well anticipate a life at least as calamitous as her own had been. And as for her other grandchild, the young King of Scotland, son of her murdered son, was not he in the gripe of her cruel cousin, the Regent Morton? She could scarcely anticipate the popular revolution which freed the royal boy from that terrible guardianship.

After several months' decline or decay, death came suddenly on the Lady Margaret. She was not confined to her bed, and was able to attend to her usual avocations, when, March 7, 1577-8, the Earl of Leicester came to Hackney, and, making great demonstrations of extra-

[1] Fœdera.

[2] Queen Mary's Letter in Labanoff Collection. Chalmers's Memoirs of Queen Mary. Keith.

ordinary kindness, entered into private discussion with her; but what passed never transpired. Leicester staid to partake dinner, and departed the same evening. She was seized with violent illness just after his departure, and became worse and worse, until death was evidently at hand. When she experienced that relief from agonising pain which is often mercifully sent before death, she convened all her servants, and such friends as were near her, and bade them farewell, expressing her happiness in departure.[1] She mentioned to them various passages of her former life with great serenity and patience. She prepared for death, according to her belief, and departed very peacefully on the evening of March 9, 1577-8, in the sixty-third year of her age. According to a common news or scandal monger,[2] the death of the Countess of Lennox was laid, by popular report, on the Earl of Leicester, who was considered so able a poisoner that, if he invited people to dine with him, or invited himself to dine with them, and any one of them died within a month after, he bore the blame of putting a pinch of poison into their food. "He had the imputation of poisoning Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, having invited him to dinner, and powdered a salad with poison; likewise of poisoning the Earl of Essex and M. de Simiers. He visited the Countess of Lennox at Hackney, and as soon as he was gone she fell into a colic that killed her; and she and all her servants near her were fully of opinion that my Lord Leicester, being there, had procured her despatch."[3] But in exoneration of Leicester there is extant the Lady Margaret's own holograph letter, previously quoted, wherein she mentions colic or cholera as her constitutional malady. Leicester might have injured her health by agitating discussions, and perhaps she said so; but there seems to have been no need of murderously shaking the tree when the fruit was so ready to fall. Yet some of her attached servants, in their grief at the loss of their mistress, expressed themselves impatiently when they found that her own woman, and Fowler, her confidential secretary and the executor of her will, were obliged to

[1] Philipps's Commemoration. [2] Parsons. [3] Ibid.

enter into the service of the Earl of Leicester, and to abide in his establishment.[1] Thus, it may be very well surmised what became of the important historical papers left by the Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox. They, with her executor Fowler, both passed into the possession of the Earl of Leicester. A most interesting circumstance may be elicited from among the evil speaking of the scandalous chronicle which gives the only hints of what occurred at the decease of the Lady Margaret. She had retained under her roof, and shared her small remaining means with the relative of Zuinglius, her deceased son Charles's tutor, Malliet, who expressed himself affectionately regarding his deceased patroness, and very doubtfully of her death.[2] The Lady Margaret's servant, John Philipps, who is evidently a Roman Catholic, gives clear indications, in his *Commemoration*, that she departed as such. It is therefore a question of some interest—How did she, and the Swiss Protestant within her gates, settle their warring creeds? Let us hope by the higher laws of Christian charity.

Philipps's tract, often mentioned, was published at or just after her burial. Its title-page affords an abstract of its contents:—"A Commemmoration of the right noble and vertuous Lady Margrit Duglasis' good grace, Countess of Lennox, wherein is rehearsed her godly life, her constant and perfect patience in time of infortune, her godly end, a last farewell taken of all noble estates at the hour of her death, the ninth day of March 1577-[8], at her house of Hackney, in Middlesex, and now lyeth interred, the third of April, in the chapel of King Henry VIII., her worthy grandfather, Anno 20 of our Soveraigne Ladye Queene Elizabeth, by God's permission of England, France, and Ireland Queene."

[1] Here the narrative is somewhat corroborated by the fact proved by his own contemptible letters in Murdin, that Fowler proved to be a vile spy of Elizabeth's Government when the young King received him as an old servant of his family.

[2] Parsons certainly means Malliet, the Swiss tutor. He says, "Mallet, likewise a stranger born, that then was about her—a sober and zealous man in religion, and otherwise well qualified—can say somewhat on this point, if questioned."

Queen Elizabeth was at the expense of her cousin's funeral, who died very poor, and deeply in debt, for which reason she was interred at the royal cost.[1] The vault in Westminster Abbey wherein her son Charles, Earl of Lennox, had recently been deposited, was unclosed, and she was placed by his side.

It does not seem that the Lady Margaret had anything but some jewels to bequeath, and these she left to her little granddaughter, Arabella, in case she reached the age of fourteen; if not, the King of Scotland was to inherit them. Mary, Queen of Scots, sent a warrant[2] to Thomas Fowler, sole executor, authorising him to deliver them to the Countess of Shrewsbury, for her niece Arabella, without reserve. Some jewels had been sent previously for the King of Scotland, by his grandmother, as fit decorations for his young person. Perhaps they had belonged to his father. They are thus enumerated and described in the Royal Wardrobe Inventories of his reign:—

"Received fra my lady Countess of Lennox ane chain of red and enamelled gold, made with little pillars, set with pearls; ane little turquoise; the number of the pearls is fourscore eighteen, and of the cannons of gold twenty-two, and of little knobs between them twenty-two, and enamelled with red, with a tablet and a great pearl hanging thereat, set with diamonds, containing of them twenty-five pieces.

"Mair, received of the same lady, a hawk glove set with twelve rubies, and seven garnets, and fifty-two great pearl, and the rest set over with small pearl.

"Received also from her ladyship ane ring, set with ane pointed diamond.

"Item, another ring, having four sparkes of rubies and a diamond."[3]

[1] Lord Burghley's Diary—Murdin Papers.

[2] This warrant, in the State Paper Office, is dated September 1579.

[3] The date when given is not specified; but the list was taken when jewels and plate and clothing were delivered for his Majesty's use to the Countess of Mar, which was in the year 1579, after the death of his grandmother, on her resigning them into the hands of James Murray, the Master of the King's wardrobe. — Book of the Royal Wardrobe of Scotland, edited by Thomas Thompson, Esq. of Shrubhill, Leith, for private circulation.

The particular site of the Lady Margaret's house at Hackney is not pointed out in any history of that ancient village, in which the Crown possessed much property. Probability would lead to the supposition that her house and its dependencies once occupied the locale of Loddige's nursery-grounds. Abutting upon them, Lyson mentions an antique house once the private property of the royal family of Stuart. John Okey, the regicide, received a grant of it, as payment for his share in the work of king-killing. It reverted to the Crown when the political atmosphere changed, as part of the appanage of James, Duke of York; but he took pity on Okey's desolate widow, when she was to be expelled from her home after the execution of her husband, and restored it to her.[1] There is probability that the Duke inherited the property from the Lady Margaret, his ancestress.

The altar-tomb we now see in Westminster Abbey, with a statue of Lady Margaret recumbent thereon, was not erected until a quarter of a century after her decease, by her grandson, James I. The sides of the monument are occupied by various panels, containing historical inscriptions beneath the kneeling statues of her eight children—four nameless daughters and one nameless son—the eldest Henry, Lord Darnley, Lord Charles Stuart, and the Lord Darnley whose name has been heard by every one. One of the inscriptions is an epitaph in Latin verse, containing no historical information, excepting that death was most welcome to the Lady Margaret. The panels on the other side of the tomb present recitals of kingly and queenly connections almost unrivalled on any other monument in Westminster Abbey. On the compartment nearest the right hand, when one stands at the foot of the tomb, is the following inscription—"This ladye had to her great-grandfather King Edward 4, to her grandfather King Henry 7, to her uncle King Henry 8, to her cousin-germane King Edward 6, to her brother King James of Scotland the

[1] Lyson's Environs—Hackney, vol. ii. p. 460. It is part of the Loddige property, and adjoins the nursery-ground. The house was said to be built only in 1591. The Duke's indenture to Mrs Okey is dated 1663.

5, to her grandchild King James 6." On the next compartment—" Having to her great-grandmother and grandmother two queens, both named Elizabeth [*being Queen Elizabeth Woodville and Elizabeth of York*], to her mother Margaret Queen of Scots, to her aunt Mary ye Frenche Queen, to her cousins-germanes Mary and Elizabeth, Queens of England."

She is mentioned as the grandmother of the Lady Arabella, who is likewise entombed in the vault. The principal inscription bears testimony of a fact which, however open to general inspection, has never taken its place in history—namely, that James I. caused the body of his father, as well as of his mother, to be exhumed and reinterred :—" Here lyeth the noble ladye Margaret, Countess of Lennox, daughter and sole heire of Archibald Earl of Anguyse, by Margaret Queen of Scotland, (her that was eldest daughter to Henry 7th,) who beare unto Matthew, Earl of Levenox, her husband, 4 sonnes and 4 daughters. Henry, second sonne to this lady, and father to James VI., now King. This Henry was murdered at the age of 21 years, and is here intombed." This inscription occupies the nearest compartment on the left hand as one stands at the foot of her monument; it is beneath the effigy of Darnley, who, wearing a regal mantle, takes the precedence of his three brothers.

So the body of the unfortunate Lord Darnley rests at Westminster Abbey, by the side of his scarcely less unfortunate mother, the Lady Margaret Douglas.

END OF VOL. II.

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